

AN ACCURATE
DESCRIPTION
OF
CAPE BRETON,

With respect to
*Its Situation, Soil, Climate, Ports, Harbours, Forces,
and Productions both natural and artificial.*

The political Reasons, that induced the FRENCH
MINISTRY to *settle and fortify it.*

From all which may be seen, *its great Importance
to FRANCE*, but of how much greater it might
have been to ENGLAND.

With a Circumstantial Account of the Taking and Surrendering of the City and Garrison by the *New-England* Forces, &c. commanded by General PEPPERELL in 1745.

A Work, especially at this critical Juncture, the more interesting, as the French seem to be ardently desirous of dispossessing us of NOVA SCOTIA also.

Illustrated with an exact Map of the Island, and a Plan of the City and Port of LOUISBOURG, taken from an actual Survey, and References to the Journal of the Siege.

To which are added Notes and Observations by a Gentleman, who resided there several Years.

Most humbly inscribed to the
Hon. EDWARD BOSCAWEN, Esq;

L O N D O N:

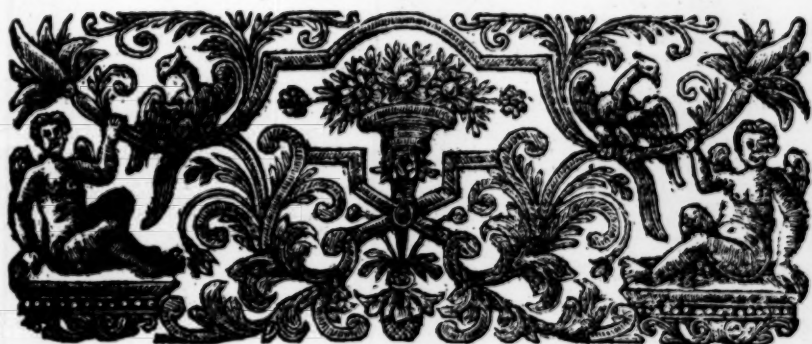
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T O T H E

Hon^{ble} *Edward Boscawen*, Esq;

Vice-Admiral of the *Blue*, and one of the
Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

S I R,

THE recent and signal Services
you have done your Country;
your very eminent Abilities to
be still far more extensively useful,
which all the World acknowledge you
exert with the greatest Affiduity; to-
gether with many personal Favours I
have received from you, which I own
with equal Pleasure and Gratitude,
oblige me with the greatest Submission
to

to lay before you the Fruits of a few Leisure Hours, which might have been much worse employed ; not by way of Information, but as a public Testimony of the most unfeigned Esteem and Veneration.

THAT Providence may guide, conduct and preserve you in all your Enterprizes, must be the Wish of every Friend to civil and religious Liberty, as it is the constant Prayer of,

S I R, &c.



P R E F A C E.

*T*O such a Work as this there can be little Need of a Preface, especially as I have in the Title given the Heads of what it contains, which I shall now enlarge upon but very little.

Father Charlevoix's Histoire & Description Generale de la Nouvelle France, from which I have taken every Thing that regards my Subject, enters so minutely into the Advantages that may be made of this Island, that the French Ministry are said, at this Time, to endeavour all in their Power to prevent the Copies of it from coming among us. As for Savary, his Work is in high Repute; but this Article had not the good Fortune to receive any Improvement from his Continuators, as most others have done in his Dictionnaire Universale de Commerce. The other Authors I have made use of are chiefly English, and most of them such as have written since, or about the Time that, Cape Breton fell into our Hands last Summer.

A very brief Abstract of the Journal of this Siege, with the References to the Map and Plan, is all I shall farther give the Reader in this Place.

1745. April 30. *The New-England Forces arrived in Gabaron or Chappeaurouge-Bay, a little to the South-Westward of Louisburgh. (a). Some Hundreds of Men landed, and beat back a Party of French that came to oppose them.*

May 1. *Remainder of the Troops landed, and began to get on Shore the Stores and Provisions.*

May 2. *A Detachment marched towards the North-East, and burnt some Houses about a Mile from the Grand Battery.*

May 3. *Took Possession of the Grand Battery (G), the Enemies having abandoned it upon the coming up of our Troops, without breaking off the Trunnions of their Guns. A Party of French that attempted to retake it were beat off.*

May 4. *The English began to fire from the Grand Battery with three Cannon only, and to bombard the Town from the Green-Hill Battery on the South West.*

May 7. *A Fascine Battery erected nearer the City, within 900 Yards on the Land Side, some of the Cannon on which burst. A Flag of Truce sent to summon Du Chambon the Governor to surrender, who said, he had no Answer to make but by the Mouth of his Cannon.*

May 13. *A French Snow gets into the Harbour with Provisions for the Garrison.*

May

(a) Vide Map.

May 15. *The City bombarded from the several Batteries this and the following Days.*

May 17. *An advanced Battery raised 250 Yards from the West Gate. The Firing continues hot on both Sides.*

May 19. *Our Men of War and Cruizers took several Prizes. An Engagement off the Harbour in Sight of the Camp.*

May 21. *A Letter from Commodore Warren, that he had taken the Vigilant, a French Man of War, of 64 Guns.*

May 25. *The Men employed in dragging Cannon from one Place to another, through muddy and uneven Ways, and all in the Face of the Fire from the Town.*

May 26. *A fruitless Attempt on the Island Battery (H), in which the English were repulsed, and had more Men killed and taken than during the whole Siege besides.*

June 10. *The Chester Man of War arrived from England, and joined the Commodore.*

June 12. *The Canterbury and Sunderland arrive; also the Lark, with a Storeship for Annapolis Royal.*

A Battery erected at the Light-house (I), in order to play on the Island Battery, and a general Attack resolved on both by Sea and Land.

June :

June 15. *The Island Battery very much damaged by the Fire from the Light-house Battery, which occasion'd many of the Enemy to quit the Fort, and run into the Water for Shelter from the Bombs and Balls.*

June 16. *The Grand Battery (G) being in our Possession; the Island Battery (H) very much hurt; and the North East Battery of the Town (F) open to our advanced Battery; all the Guns in the Circular Battery (E) being dismounted, except three; the West Gate demolished, and a large Breach made in the Wall adjoining; the West Flank of the Right Bastion almost ruined; all the Houses almost torn to Pieces, and the Enemy's Stock of Ammunition growing short, they sent out a Flag of Truce, demanding to capitulate, which was this Morning accepted.*

June 17. *Articles being agreed on, the City and Fortress were surrender'd, and the Garrison, with all the Inhabitants, to the Number of 2000 capable of bearing Arms, were to be transported to France, with all their personal Effects.*



S^T.

L A U R E N C E'S

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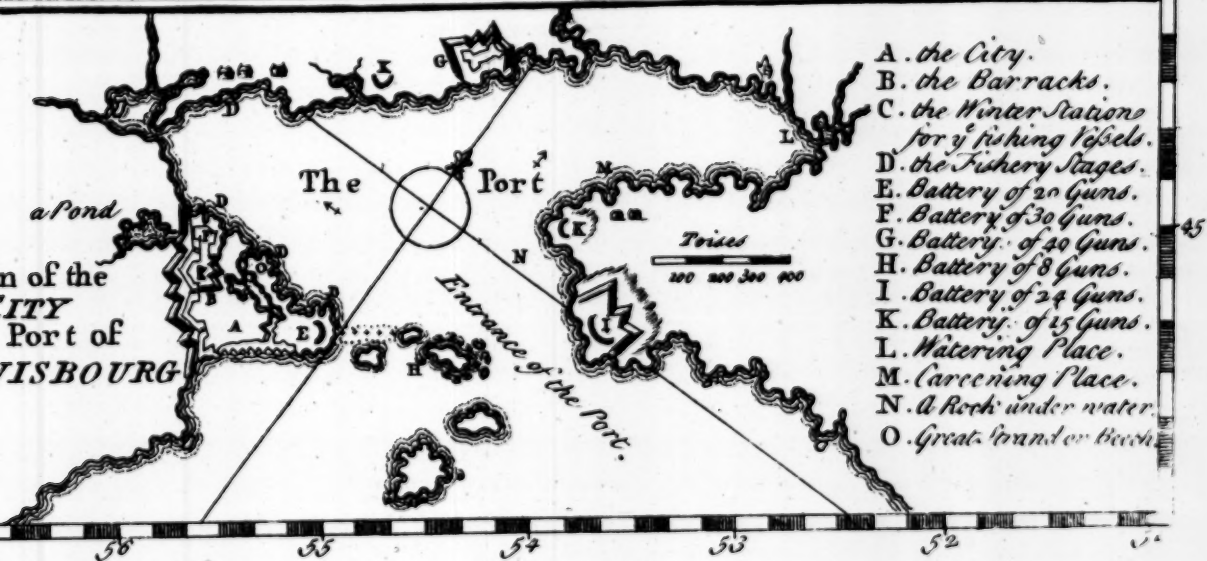
CAPÉ BRETON I.

A T L

Plan of the
CITY
and Port of
LOUISBOURG

Longitude West from London

ON, with Part of *NEWFOUND LAND, ACADIA,*
the City and Port of *LOUIS BOURG.*



THE
HISTORY
AND
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ISLAND of CAPE BRETON.

NOT to go farther back than the Year 1632, in order to examine more ancient Pretensions, it appears from the History of *New France*, by Father *Charlevoix* (from which I shall extract great Part of the following Piece) that in that Year King *Charles I.* of *England* having consented to deliver up *Quebec*, *Acadia*, and the Island of *Cape Breton* into the Hands of the *French*, who were preparing to take the former by Force, the first *French Settlement* in that Island was then begun.

‘Our Establishment there, says the Father, was indeed at that Time but a very Trifle. However this Port, the Fort of *Quebec* surrounded with a few wretched Houses and Barracks, two or three Cottages in the Island of *Montreal*, as ma-

ny perhaps at *Tadoussac*, and in some other Places upon the River *St. Laurence*, for the Convenience of the Fishery and Carriage, the Beginning of a Habitation at the *Three Rivers*, and the Ruins of *Port Royal*, (a) were all that at this Time went by the Name of *New France*.'

We do not hear of this Isle again from our *French* Historian till 1666, when he is only able to tell us that the Governor of *Quebec* received Advice from the *Sieur de la Valliere*, who commanded in *Isle Royale* (b), that he was attacked by the *English*. "This is all, says he, that I have been able to learn. I only know farther that our Establishment in this Isle was then very insignificant, and that it was entirely abandoned a few Years after." While there was still a Fort in this Island, we learn that it was called *Fort St. Pierre*; but the Fortune of the Place was generally the same as that of *Acadia*, which fell several Times into the Hands of the *English* before the last War. As it fell with it, the same Treaties restored one and the other, *Cape Breton* being look'd upon as a Kind of Dependence on *Acadia*.

But tho' during this long Course of Years it lay neglected, or very little regarded, there were not wanting Persons who saw the Use it might be of, and the Advantage that might be made of its Ports, whenever there was Occasion to make a new Settlement in those Parts. We have reason, at least, to think this, because, tho' the *French* confess

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(a) Which had been demolished by the *English* about twenty Years before.

(b) It had not this Name till near 50 Years after, tho' the *Jesuit* there gives it.

confess they made no Account of it till the Memorial of Mess. *Raudot*, hereafter quoted, was presented to their Ministry, the *English* had a true Sense of its Value when the Negotiations of Peace were set on Foot, which it is hardly to be presumed they had from this Piece of the Enemy's. But I shall not anticipate what my Authors have to say, whose Words I now proceed to translate, throwing my own Remarks either into Notes under the Pages, or together at the End by Way of Essay.

Father Charlevoix's Description of Cape Breton (c).

THE Island of *Cape Breton*, called by the *French Isle Royale*, is situated between the 45th and the 47th Degree of Latitude, and (d) together with the Island of *Newfoundland*, from which it is distant only 15 or 16 Leagues, it forms the Entry of the Gulph of *St. Laurence*. The Streight, which separates it from *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, is only five Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth. The *French* call it The Passage of *Fronsac*, but The *English*, the Streight of *Canso*.

The Length of *Cape Breton*, from North East to South West, is not quite 50 Leagues, and its greatest Breadth, from West to East, is not more than 33. It is of a very irregular Figure, and so

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(c) From his *Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France*, &c. 3 Tom. 4to Paris 1744.

(d) And between about 58°—30' and 60°—30' Longitude West from London.

intersected by Lakes and Rivers, that the two principal Ports join together only by an Isthmus of about eight hundred Paces over, which separates the Bottom of Port *Toulouse* from several Lakes, which are called *Labrador*. These Lakes discharge themselves Eastwards into the Sea, by two Channels of unequal Magnitude, formed by the Island of *Vederonne*, or *La Boularderie*, which is seven Leagues in Length.

The Climate of this Island is nearly the same as that of *Quebec*, (e) and tho' Fogs are here more frequent, the People do not complain of an unhealthy Air. All the Lands are not good, yet they produce Trees of every Species. Here are Oaks of a prodigious Magnitude, Pines proper for Masts, and all Kinds of Timber for Carpenter's Work. The most common Sorts, besides the Oak, are the Cedar, the Ash, the Maple, the Plane, and the Aspin Tree. Fruits, especially Apples, Pulse, Corn, and other Grains necessary for Life, as also Hemp and Flax, are in less Abundance, but as good in Quality as those of *Canada*. It is observed that the Mountains here will bear Cultivation up to the Top, and that the best

(e) Father *Charlevoix*, in the same Work, makes the Climate of *Quebec* to be very sharp in Winter, when the Gentry ride out on Sleds over the Snow, or skait upon the Ice: But in general he describes it as a very desirable Spot, and pleases himself with the Idea that this Capital of *New France* may be one Day as great, and surrounded with as many Villages and Noblemens Seats as *Paris*, the Capital of the *Old*, which he says, was for many Centuries more inconsiderable than *Quebec* is at present.—But according to his own Description of these *French* Canadans, whom he represents as an indolent People, not at all solicitous about making their Fortunes, it is not in the least probable that *Quebec* should be raised to this Greatness by them? Shall we suppose him then, unwittingly, a Prophet in favour of the *English* Americans, whom he represents as an industrious thriving People, who improve every Thing that falls into their Hands?

best Lands are upon their southern Declivities, which are covered from the North and North-west Winds by the high Hills that bound them on the Side of St. *Laurence's* River.

All domestic Animals, as Horses, black Cattle, Hogs, Sheep, Goats, and Poultry, find here Provisions in Abundance. The Chace and the Fishery are sufficient to nourish the Inhabitants a good Part of the Year. Here are great Plenty of excellent Mines of Pit-coal; and as these Mines are in the Mountains, there is no Occasion to dig under Ground, or be at the Expence of turning off Waters in order to get at them, as in some other Countries. Lime-stone is also found in this Island. In no Place upon the Face of the Earth is the Cod Fishery carried on with better Success, nor can greater Conveniences be found for drying the Fish. Formerly this Island was full of wild Beasts, but at present they are very rare, especially Elks. The Partridges here are almost as large as Pheasants, and feathered very much like them. In a Word, Fisheries of Sea Wolves, or Seals, Porpoises, and Sea Cows, or Grampuses, might be conveniently carry'd on for the Benefit of their Oil, there being great Plenty of them.

All the Ports of the East Side round to the South are open, for the Space of 55 Leagues, beginning with Port *Dauphin*, and proceeding to Port *Toulouse*, which is almost at the Entry of the Streights of *Canso*, or Passages of *Fronsac*. Every where else it is difficult to find Anchorage even for small Vessels, either in the Bays, or between the Isles. All the North Coast is very high, and almost inaccessible; nor is it more easy to go ashore on the West till you come to the Passage of *Fronsac*

Fronfac before-mentioned, upon leaving which you fall again upon Port *Toulouse*, formerly called *St. Peter's*.

This Port lies properly between a Kind of Gulph, called *Little St. Peter's*, and the Isle of *St. Peter*, over-against the Isles of *Madame*, or *Maurepas*. From thence advancing to the South East, and passing several other Bays, you come to that of *Gabori*, or *Gabaron*, the Entry of which, about 20 Leagues from the Islands of *St. Peter*, is League broad between Isles and Rocks. One may go very near all these Isles, some of which advance a League and a Half out into the Sea. The Bay runs in two Leagues, and affords very good Anchorage.

The Haven of *Louisburgh*, formerly *English Haven*, is distant from that of *Gabori* only a large League. It is one of the finest (f) in all *America*, almost four Leagues in Compass, and all over about 6 or 7 Fathom deep. The Anchorage is good, and Ships may be run on Ground in the Shallows without the Hazard of losing them. The Entry is not above 400 Yards across, between two small Isles; and it may be known 12 Leagues off at Sea by *Cape Lorembec*, which is but a little Way distant on the North East.

Two Leagues higher is *Porte de la Baleine*, or *Whale Port*, the Entry of which is difficult, because of several Rocks, which the Sea covers when it is agitated. Ships of above 300 Tons can-

(f) *A Journal* lately publish'd of the Proceedings of the New England Land Forces, denies this, and says *Louisburgh* is but an indifferent Harbour for Shipping: But probably this Writer had not been there long enough to examine it, whereas the *Jesuit* writes from the many Years Experience of his Countrymen,

cannot enter here, but then they ride in very great Safety. From thence it is but two Leagues to the Bay of *Panadou*, or *Menadou*, the Entrance of which is about a League broad, from whence it runs in about two Leagues. Almost over-against it is the Isle of *Scatari*, formerly *Little Cape Breton*, and the Isle of *Port Chartrain*, which is at most but two Leagues in length. The Bay of *Miré* is separated from this only by a very narrow Point of Land. The Entrance of this Bay is two Leagues over, and it runs eight Leagues into the Country. It grows narrower as one advances, and receives a great many Rivulets and small Streams. Large Ships may run up in it 6 Leagues, and find very good Anchorage, sheltered from the Winds. Besides the Isle of *Scatari*, here are a great many smaller, and Rocks that are seen at a great Distance, the Sea never covering them. The largest of these Rocks is called the *Forillon*.

The Bay of *Morienne* is higher still, and separated from the Bay of *Miré* by *Cape Brulé*, or *Cape Burnt*. A little higher is *Flat Isle*, or *Gun-Flint Isle*, directly in $46^{\circ} 8'$ of Latitude. There are good Openings between all these Isles and Rocks, and they may be approach'd without Danger.

Advancing from thence to the North West we come to *Indiana*, which is a good Haven, but for small Vessels only. From *Indiana* to *Spaniard's Bay* is two Leagues, the latter being a very fine Haven. The Entrance is not a Mile over; but it enlarges as we advance inwards, and at the Distance of a League divides into two Branches, which may be ascended three Leagues.

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They are both very good Ports, and might be made better at a small Expence. From this Bay to the lesser Entrance of *Labrador* is two Leagues, and the Isle, which separates the lesser Entrance from the Greater, is about the same Breadth.

Labrador is a Gulph, about 20 Leagues long, and three or four over where broadest. It is reckon'd only a League and a Half from the large Entrance of this Gulph to *Port Dauphin*, or *St. Anne's Port*, and there is very safe Anchorage among the Isles of *Cibou*. A Slip of Land, or Kind of natural Mole, almost entirely shuts up this Port, and leaves Room for the Passage of only one Ship at a Time. The Port is two Leagues in Circuit, and scarcely are the Winds felt in it by the Ships, on Account of the Mountains and high Lands that environ it. The Shore is every where so bold, that you may ride as near to it as you please.

All these Harbours and Ports being so near to one another, it would be easy to make Roads by Land between them, than which nothing would be more advantageous to the Inhabitants, who by such Communications would be saved the Trouble of going round by Sea in the Winter Season.

While *France* was in Possession of *Acadia*, and the southern Coast of *Newfoundland*, no great Account was made of this Island. Messieurs *Raudot* were the first who perceived it did not deserve to be neglected, and even attempted to make it one of the principal Objects of the Ministry's Attention with regard to *New France*. In 1706. they sent a Memorial to Court, of which the Reader will be pleased to see the Substance here,

here, as it gives a good Account of what was the State of this Colony at that Time. I may venture to advance, that if this Memorial does not persuade all those, who read this Narrative, that *Isle Royale* is preferable to *Acadia* itself, it will at least convince them, that after the Cession of that Province, and the Port of *Placentia* to the Crown of *England*, a solid Establishment in this Isle was indispensably necessary (g).

*Reasons assigned by Messieurs Raudot
for making an Establishment at Cape
Breton.*

THE two Intendants begin with supposing that the principal, and almost the sole View in raising the Colony in *Canada*, was the Commerce of Furs, especially Beaver; which however is not true farther than with respect to private Persons. But they well remark, that it should have been foreseen that in course of Time either the Stock of Beaver would be exhausted, or the Commodity itself would grow too common; and consequently, that it wou'd not be sufficient to support a Colony of this Importance; that it was already, in fact, fallen into the latter of these two Inconveniences, the Abundance of Beaver Hair having ruin'd the Trade. Private Persons, who have nothing in view but to make Fortunes in a short Time, do not regard

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this :

(g) This Necessity for making such Establishment on the Side of the *French* was altogether as strong for us to take it from them the first Opportunity, and should be for our keeping it, as will appear more clearly as we proceed.

this: They care not what becomes of *New France*, when they have drawn out of it sufficient to live at Ease in the *Old*.

They observe farther, that the Commerce of Beaver cou'd never subsist more than a very limited Number of Inhabitants: That the Use of this Merchandize could never be general enough to support and enrich an entire Colony; and that the Consumption being certain, the Inconvenience above-mention'd could not be avoided, without falling into the former: That for want of making these Observations, the Inhabitants of *New France*, are attached almost solely to this Commerce, as if they were certain that the Beavers would reproduce their Species as readily as the Cod-fish in the Sea, and that the Sale of their Skins would be equal to that of the said Fish: Wherefore they have made it their principal Occupation to hunt in the Woods, in order to get these Furs. These long and frequent Voyages have accustom'd them to a Life of domestic Indolence, which they find it difficult to leave, tho' their Expeditions produce but little, on Account of the low Value of the Beaver.

The *English*, they add, have followed a Conduct very different. Without amusing themselves in travelling so far from Home, they have cultivated their Lands, establish'd Manufactures, erected Glass-Houses, open'd Mines of Iron, built Ships, and all along look'd on the Furs only as an accessory Article, of which they made no great Account.

Necessity, it is true, did at last open the Eyes of the *Canadians*: They saw themselves obliged to cultivate Flax and Hemp, to make Cloths, and very

very bad Druggets, of the Wool of their old Cloaths, mix'd with Linen Thread: But the long Habit they had contracted of doing nothing, did not suffer them altogether to emerge from their Misery. They have, indeed, Bread and Cattle sufficient to live on; but many have nothing to cover themselves with, and are obliged to pass the Winter, which is very long, and very severe, with only some wild Goat-skins upon their Backs.

And yet the King expends every Year an hundred thousand Crowns in this Colony: The Furs are worth about two hundred and eighty thousand Livres; the Oil, and other Provisions bring in about twenty thousand Livres; the Pensions upon the Royal Treasury, which the King gives to private Persons, and the Revenues that the Bishops and Seminaries receive in *France*, amount to 50 thousand Franks. Here we see the whole Produce of *New France* is confined to six hundred and fifty thousand Livres: This is the Sum total it has for the Basis of its Commerce; and it is evident, that this can never be sufficient to support a Colony of twenty, or twenty-five thousand Souls, and to supply what she is now obliged to draw from *France*.

The Affairs of the Colony were formerly upon a better Footing, and the King expended more in them. She sent into *France* to the Value of a Million of Livres in Beaver, yet was not then so well peopled: But she has always drawn off more than she was in a Condition to pay, which caused her to lose her Credit with the Merchants in *France*, who are no longer in a Humour to send Effects to the Merchants of *Canada*.

nada without Letters of Exchange, or good Security. From hence, and the Loss of Value in the Beaver, it follows, that it was necessary to send into *France* all the Money of *Canada* to procure Goods: So that there has been a Time, when perhaps there were not a thousand Crowns of Specie in the Country. This Defect was supplied by Paper Money, and it is needless to repeat the Inconveniences of this Money, and the Reasons there were to suppress it.

Messieurs. *Raudot*, after having thus set forth the Condition of *New France* down to the Year 1706, with regard to its Commerce and general Stock, exhibit the Means which they imagine may render it more flourishing. This Colony, say they, may make a Trade of its Provisions, and other Productions and Manufactures which will enrich it. The Provisions are salt Flesh, and Cod: The other Productions and Manufactures are, Masts, Planks, Timber for Building, Necklaces, Pitch and Tar, Oil of Whales, Porpoises, and Grampusses, Hemp and Flax; to which may be added, Iron and Copper. There wants nothing but a Vent for all this, and the Means of a little lowering the Wages of the Workmen.

The Difficulty upon this last Article proceeds from the Indolence of the Inhabitants, and the Dearness of *French* Goods. At a Time when there is little Work, the Workman will do nothing under 25 Sols a Day, because he wears out more of his Cloths and Tools than he can be able to replace at a less Price, and at the same Time maintain himself. On the other Side, the Goods of *Europe* are as dear again in *Canada* as they are in *France*. This seems exorbitant: But if

if we consider the Assurance of 25 *per Cent.* (which indeed is not so high but in time of War,) the Expence of Commission, Freightage, which sometimes exceeds forty Crowns a Ton, the Advance of Money, the Warehouse-room that must be paid to the Commissioners, the Non Payment of Letters of Exchange when they are due, which often happens, and the Exchange at *Paris*, we shall find the Merchant is no great Gainer: In fact, there are no rich Men in the Country.

The Question then is, how to raise the Colony of *Canada*, to employ all the People, every one according to his Talents, and to put private Persons in the Way of subsisting, by lessening the Price of Merchandize? Now this End seems attainable, if a Place be found out whither they may carry conveniently, and at small Expences, their own Commodities, and where there may receive Goods from *France* to carry back with them. By this they will get a Part of the Freightage both Ways; and those of the Inhabitants, who are now sunk in Idleness, or do nothing but hunt, will be employ'd in Navigation.

Our two Intendants then put the Question, Whether this would not be prejudicial to *France*, by taking away a Part of the Profit of her Goods? They answer, No; because the Freightage gain'd by the Inhabitants of *New France*, will be immediately made up to *Old France*, in the Consumption of a greater Part of her Goods. For Example, those who now do nothing, and cover themselves with Goat-skins, as soon as they are employ'd will be able to cloth themselves

selves in *French* Stuffs. And a more convenient Place cannot be found for this Design, than the Island of *Cape Breton*.

Let it not be said, that if this Island draws from *Canada* a Part of the Commodities which *France* might furnish her with, that is therefore so much cut off from the Commerce of the Kingdom: For in the first Place, the Answer to the former Objection destroys this likewise; because the Profits which *Canada* may make by this Commerce, will always return to the Profit of the Kingdom: For *New France* can never do without a great many of the Merchandizes of the *Old*. She will by this Means draw from thence a greater Quantity, for which she will pay her the Money that she receives from *Cape Breton* for her native Commodities. In the second Place, it will be no great Damage to *France* that so much of her Corn, and other Necessaries of Life, are not carried out, since the cheaper her Provisions are, the more Workmen she will have for her Manufactures.

This Isle, continues the Memorial, is situated in such Manner, that it will form a natural intermediate Magazine betwixt *Old* and *New France*. It can furnish to the first, of its own Growth, Salt Fish, Oils, Pit Coal, Lime-stone, Wood for Building, &c. It will furnish to the Second the Goods of the Kingdom at a much cheaper Rate than they cost at present; it will draw from thence great Part of its Subsistence, and spare it, in return, a considerable Part of the Freightage of *European* Goods: Besides that the Navigation from *Quebec* to *Cape Breton* will make a great many

many good Sailors of People that are now useless, and even a Charge to the Colony.

Another considerable Advantage, which this Establishment would procure to *Canada*, is, that small Vessels might be sent from thence to catch Cod and other Fish, the Oil of which might be extracted at the Mouth of the River. These Vessels would be sure to dispose of their Cargoes at *Cape Breton*, and to load there again with *French Merchandize* : Or else a Vessel might be sent from *Quebec* laden with the Commodities of the Country, and take up Salt at *Cape Breton* for Fishing in the Gulph ; and when she was laden again with Fish, return to *Cape Breton* and dispose of it. By this Means she might lay out the Profits of both Voyages in the Merchandizes of *France*, to be disposed of in *Canada*.

Upon this Head it is proper to take notice, that what has hinder'd the *Canadians* from fishing in the Gulph, and at the Entrance of *St. Lawrence's* River, was the Necessity they were under of carrying their Fish to *Quebec*, where they could not have made enough of it to pay Sailor's Wages, and other Charges, considering the Length of the Voyage ; and that even if they had been so fortunate as to make some Profit, which seldom happen'd, that Profit was not considerable enough to encourage them to continue such a Commerce.

The two Colonies mutually helping each other, and their Merchants growing rich by the continual Commerce they would carry on, they might associate in Enterprizes equally advantageous to both, and consequently to the Kingdom ; were it only to open the Iron Mines, which are in
great

great Abundance about the *Three Rivers*: For then the Woods and Mines of the Kingdom might have some rest, or at least there would be no Occasion to buy Iron from *Sweden* and *Biscay*. Moreover, the Ships which go from *France* to *Canada* run a great Risk in coming back, especially if they do not make their Voyage in the Spring: But the small Vessels of *Quebec* will hazard nothing in going to *Cape Breton*, because they may chuse their Time, and always have experienced Pilots. What can hinder them from making even two Voyages in a Year, and by this Means saving the *French* Ships the Trouble and Danger of getting up the River of *St. Laurence*, which will shorten their Voyage a full Half?

Nor is it only by augmenting the Consumption of Goods in *New France* that the proposed Establishment will be useful to the Kingdom, but by the Convenience it will furnish of sending the Wines, Brandies, Stuffs, Ribbands, Taffetas, &c. of *France* to the *English* Colonies (a). This Commerce might turn to great Account, because the *English* would supply themselves at *Cape Breton*, and in *Canada*, with all the Goods, not only for the Continent of *America*, where their Colonies are exceedingly populous, but also for their Isles, and those of the *Dutch*, with which they carry

(a) This single Reason, if there were no other, should determine us eternally against ever parting with this Island again now we are in Possession of it. What would signify those Colonies being nominally ours, if the *French* could find Means to work us out of that Commerce by which alone they are profitable to their Mother Country? To what a Degree they had done this before our taking of *Louisburgh* I have not heard computed: But certainly they would have grown upon us in this Article, as their Colony had increased in People, Wealth, and Traffick.

carry on a Traffick. By this Means a great deal of Money would be drawn out of those Colonies, even tho' the Imposition of our Commodities was not openly permitted (b).

Upon the whole, nothing is more capable than this Settlement to engage the Merchants of *France* in the Cod Fishery, because the Island of *Cape Breton* furnishing *Canada* with Merchandizes, the Vessels, which shall come thither from *France* upon this Fishery, may load partly with Merchandizes, and partly with Salt, and so make double Profit: Whereas at present the Ships of *France*, which go on the Cod-Fishery, load with Salt only. Add to this, that the Augmentation of the Fishery may enable *France* to furnish *Spain* and the *Levant* with Salt-fish, which would bring a great deal of Money into the Kingdom.

The Whale Fishery, which is very abundant in the Gulph, towards the Coasts of *Labrador*, or *New Britain*, and in the River *St. Laurence* up to *Tadoussiac*, may prove another of the most solid Advantages of this Establishment. The Ships that go upon this Fishery, may load in *France* with *European* Goods, and either vend them at *Cape Breton*, or leave them with Correspondents; and taking in empty Casks at the same Place, may proceed on the Fishery. Which Fishery is the more easy here, as it is carried on in the Summer, and not in the Winter, as in the

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(b) The *French* Writers often talk openly of the *English* Love of clandestine Trade, and *Savary* gives it as his Opinion that even the Dread of Death would not deter our Smugglers at home from running our Wool to *France*, and bringing back their Commodities. Is it not Time we should throw off at once the Danger and Scandal of this pernicious Practice?

North of *Europe*, where the fishing Vessels are obliged to ply in the Midst of Mountains of Ice, under which the Whales are often lost after they are harpoon'd. Thus the fishing Ships will gain both upon the Goods they carry to *Cape Breton*, and upon the Fishery itself; and this double Profit will be made in less Time, and with less Hazard, than the single Profit that is made in the North of *Europe* by only the Oil extracted from the Whales; and the Money, which we now carry to the *Dutch* for this Oil, will remain among ourselves.

It has been already remarked, that the Island of *Cape Breton* can furnish, of her own Growth, abundance of Masts, and Timber for Building. This Island lies convenient also for drawing more of the same Sorts from *Canada*; which would augment the reciprocal Commerce of the two Colonies, and procure to the Kingdom a greater Facility of building Ships. The Timber may be taken up in the Isle, without our being obliged to buy it of Foreigners. A Commerce may be also carry'd on with the *Antilles Isles* in Masts and Fir-plank, which would considerably lower the Price of those Commodities. Who could even hinder our building Ships at *Cape Breton*, which might be supplied from *Canada* with all that was wanting in itself for that Purpose? They would cost much less there than in *France*, and we might even sell Ships to those Foreigners of whom we now buy them.

In fine, there cannot be a more commodious Place to put in at, nor a more secure Retreat, than the Island of *Cape Breton*, for all Ships that come from any Part of *America* whatsoever, if they

they should happen to be pursued, or surpris'd in bad Weather, or be in Want of Water, Food, or Provisions. Besides that in Time of War it might serve for a Place to cruise from, a Place that might ruin the Commerce of *New England* (c): And with Fortifications there, which might easily be rais'd, we might make ourselves Masters of the whole Cod-fishery, by keeping only a small Number of Frigates, ready to step out of the Ports of the Island, and return into them as there might be Occasion.'

The two Intendants, after having thus set forth the Advantages of the new Establishment they had projected, applied themselves to facilitate the Means of making it, and answering the Difficulties that might be objected to their Project. They remarked first, That it was not proper to trust this Undertaking in the Hands of a Company, because the Spirit of all Societies pushes them on getting a great deal in a little Time, on abandoning or neglecting Enterprizes that do not immediately produce great Profits, on giving themselves little Concern about laying solid Foundations for Establishments, and on having no Regard to the Utility of the Inhabitants, 'to whom, they say, We must not give too much Advantage, if we would engage them to settle in new Colonies.' What occasioned the *French* incorporated Companies to talk in this Manner, was the Experience of those who till that Time had possess'd

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either

(c) It was this Reason, in all Probability, that more than any other prompted the *New England* People to their Attempt of last Year.

either the Dominion or exclusive Commerce of *New France*, and the Isles of *America*.

The Intendants agreed, after all, that the Enterprize of establishing *Cape Breton* could not be gone thro' without great Expence; but then they pretended, that, without making it any Expence to the King, if they had only certain Sums advanced, of which the Reimbursement might be secured to his Majesty's Treasury, it would be easy in three Years to put this Island in a Condition of supporting itself, and becomeing in a few Years more a very considerable Place. The Helps they demanded the Loan of, and the Means they proposed for reimbursing the Charge, were as follow.

1. The King has no Occasion for a great Number of his Ships in Time of Peace, when they either perish in the Ports, or only take a little Diversion at Sea: It would be doing a public Service therefore, to find them real Occasions of going Voyages. Thus the King would lose nothing by lending some of his light Vessels for the Transportation of every Thing necessary to make the Establishment in Question. The Effects, which they would bring back even the first Year, would at least pay the Wages of Seamen, Provisions, and Wear and Tear: For by taking previous Measures, their Lading back in Pit-coal, Lime-stone, Masts, Poles, and other Wood, might be got ready, so as to cost nothing but the putting on board. The two following Years an Addition might be made of Planks, Split Timber, Oils, dried Fish, and other Commodities, which the Inhabitants might begin to give in Payment of the Money advanced for their Establishment, and which ought to be regarded as so much
ready

ready Money, because ready Money must be given for the same Things to Foreigners. In the mean time, the Augmentation of the Cod-fishery would augment the King's Revenue arising from that Merchandize.

2. Four compleat Companies of Soldiery would be sufficient for the first Year: But it will be necessary to be particularly careful in the Choice of the Soldiers, that they are all Men of some useful Trade, as Masons, Carpenters, Smiths, Hewers of Timber, and above all Labourers; that they are also young, active, healthy, and good Workmen. Such a Choice as this will not be difficult to make as soon as the War is over. It would be even proper to take the first Companies from *Canada*, where the Men are already experienced in the making of new Establishments, and capable to instruct those that may come afterwards from *France*. But it seems above all indispensably necessary, that the Governor of the new Colony shall have Power to give all the Soldiers who may desire it leave to marry: For they will defend the Country better in the Quality of Inhabitants, than in that of Soldiers; the Companies will become a Nursery of Inhabitants, and it will not be difficult to recruit them annually, to keep them always compleat.

3. What regarded the Transportation of Inhabitants, the Necessity of furnishing the Colony with Provisions during the two first Years, the military Stores and Merchandizes necessary to be sent thither, the Fortifications it would be requisite to make, the ready Money that should be at first distributed, the annual Charges, the Domains and Rights annex'd to them, the Conces-

sions made in favour of Communities and private Persons, the Duties of Importation and Exportation; all these were explain'd by the two Magistrates, with such an Exactness, Understanding, Perspicuity, and Order, the whole supported by solid Proofs, that nothing more could be wanting to demonstrate, that the King would run no hazard in advancing Money upon this Establishment; that those Advances would not be so considerable as might have been apprehended, and that they would be reimbursed in three Years. M. *Raudot* the Son, nevertheless, in the Year 1708, judged, that it might be more proper not to proceed so fast, but to establish the New Colony by little and little: To begin by sending Troops, who should set on Foot the Fishery; and then to send hired Servants and *French* Mariners, a Part of whom should become Inhabitants.

There is great Reason to think that the War, which continued some Years after this, and employ'd the whole Strength of *France*, and all the Attention of the Ministry, hinder'd his Majesty's Council from pursuing so beautiful and well-digested a Project; a Project that appear'd equally advantageous both to *Old* and *New France*. This however is certain, that after the Cession of *Placentia* and *Acadia* to the Crown of *England*, the *French* having no Place left where they could dry their Cod, nor even peaceably fish for it, but this Isle of *Cape Breton*, a Sort of Necessity lay on them to make there a solid Establishment, with Fortifications.

They began by changing the Name, imposing that of *Isle Royale*, or Royal Island, instead of *Cape Breton*. The next Thing deliberated on

was the Choice of a Port, where it would be proper to establish the General Quarters. Concerning this the Opinions were long divided between *English Haven* and *St. Anne's Port*. I have already said, that the first is one of the finest Harbours in all *America*; that is almost four Leagues in Compass, having Anchorage every where in six or seven Fathom of Water; that the Anchorage is so good, that Ships may be run a-ground on the Shallows without Hazard; that the Entrance is not 200 Toises, or 1200 Feet over, between two small Isles which can easily defend it. Here are also Cod-fish in Abundance, and the Fishery may be carried on from the Month of *April* to the End of *December*. But the Objections against this Place were, that the Ground is barren all round about it, and that it would cost immense Sums to fortify it, because all the Materials must be fetch'd from a great Distance: Besides, that it had been remarked, there was no sandy Shoal in this Haven large enough for more than forty Fishing Vessels.

I have observ'd, that there is a very secure Road before *St. Anne's Port* among the Isles of *Cibou*, and that a Slip of the Main Land almost entirely shuts up the Port, leaving a Passage only for one Ship at a Time. This Port, thus shut up, is almost two Leagues in Compass, and of an Oval Figure, deep enough for Ships every-where to ride close to the Shore; that, thro' the Height of the Shores, and the Mountains which surround and cover them, the Winds are scarcely felt here: To which those who declared in favour of this Port added, that it might be render'd impregnable at a small Expence, and that more might
be

be done for 2000 Franks, than for 200,000 at *English Haven*, because every Thing might be found here, that was necessary for building and fortifying a great City.

It is moreover certain, that the Greve, Shoal, or Beach here, is as large as that at *Placentia*; that the Fish are here in great Abundance; that a great deal of good Timber grows hereabouts, especially Maple, of the Black Cherry-tree, and Oaks exceeding proper both for building and masting of Ships, some being from twenty-eight to thirty-eight Feet in Height; that Marble is here common; that the Soil is for the most part good, and that upon both the *Little* and *Great Labrador*, which are but a League and an half distant, the Ground is exceeding fertile, and might contain and support a great Number of Inhabitants. In a word, this Port is only four Leagues from *Spaniards-Bay*, which is another very good Haven, where the Lands are excellent, and covered with Timber proper both for Construction and Masts. 'Tis true, they cannot fish here with Shallops, because of the West Winds which usually blow; but they may do it with small Boats, as at *Boston*.

The only Inconvenience of Port *St. Anne*, which all the World allows to be one of the finest in the New World, is, that it is not easy to come into it. This single Inconvenience, after much weighing the Matter, and half resolving now to establish here, under the Name of *Port Dauphin*, and now at *English Harbour*, by the Name of *Louisburgh*, at last determined for the latter. And as the Facility of Entrance gave this the Preference, no Cost has been spared to render

render it commodious and impregnable: The City is built upon a Point of Land, which forms the Entrance of the Port. M. de Costebelle; who had lost his Government of *Placentia*, by the Delivery of it to the *English*, was entrusted with that of the new Colony; and M. de St. Ovide; his Lieutenant, was his Successor.

It was at first intended to transport into *Isle Royal*, all the *French* that were settled in *Acadia*. Even all the Savages; whom we comprehend under the Name of *Abenakis*; were invited thither, and some of them had in fact begun to form a little Town: But the *French*, who had before wish'd for a Removal, having nothing assigned them in lieu of what they possess'd in *Acadia*; and being better used by the *English* Governor, who knew the Value of a People already settled; concluded at last; after long Deliberation; to remain in their Colonies.

They were very near changing Opinion; however, in 1720. Mr. *Philip Richards* being appointed Governor of *New England* and *Acadia*; was surpriz'd at his Arrival to see the *French* remain in the latter Province as Subjects of the most Christian King; (a) and that the *English* were content to leave them in quiet, while they attempted no-

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(a) We have never heard but that these People, tho' Catholics in Religion, have demeaned themselves as good Subjects of *Great Britain*. They would, no doubt, be glad to see their own Nation again Masters in this Country; but we have had two Instances, within two Years past; that they are not inclin'd to contribute any Assistance towards making them so; for in the Sieges of *Annapolis Royal*, when the *Canadian French* were assisted by the *Indian Nations*, we dont find that the *French* of *Nova Scotia* attempted to rise in their Favour; which had they done, perhaps the Enemies had been Masters of *Acadia* before we had made any Attempt on *Cape Breton*.

thing against the Service of the Crown of *England*; that they enjoy'd the same Prerogatives they had enjoy'd under their natural Sovereign; that they had their Catholic Priests, and the free Exercise of their Religion; and that they kept up a kind of Correspondence with *Isle Royale*.

He was told, that the Government had thought proper to grant them all this, to prevent their retiring either into *Canada*, or *Isle Royale*, as they were permitted to do in virtue of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and even to carry off their moveable, and sell their immoveable Effects; that by this means the Charge of sending over a new Colony had been saved, which must otherwise have been done, in order to replace this; and that moreover it would have been difficult to find Inhabitants so laborious and industrious as these: That as to the rest, they had not abused the Indulgence, and that it was owing to them that the Savages, in Alliance with *France*, had for some Time left the *English* in Repose.

The Captain General either did not taste these Reasons, or believing that Time could change the Nature of Things, concluded he might, without any Risk put the *French* upon the same Footing as the *English*. He begun by forbidding them all Commerce with *Isle Royale*, and afterwards let them know, that he gave them but four Months to take (a) the Oath of Fidelity to the King of *England*, as Subjects ought to do to their Sovereign.

M. de

(a) Our *French* Author is probably mistaken here, and means the Oath of Abjuration, instead of the Oath of Allegiance, which no People certainly would refuse to a Government they chose to live under, and were protected by: Nor indeed is it probable they would have been left so quiet as he describes them, if they had refused this latter Oath.

M. de St. Ovide, who was soon informed of this new Pretension, advertised the Inhabitants what would be the Consequence, if they submitted to what was required of them. They had no Occasion for this Advice of the *French* Governor, having given an immediate Answer to the Captain General, as became them, That if he endeavoured to compel them, he would bring down the Natives upon him, who would never be forced to such an Oath of Fidelity as would deprive them of their Pastors. (b) This Answer had its Effect; *Richards* did not think proper to break with the Savages, his Neighbours, at a Time when those of *Kinibeki* were already so ill-inclin'd towards the People of *Boston*, nor to run the Hazard of seeing *Acadia* without Inhabitants; for *St. Ovide* had already concerted Measures for facilitating to the *French* a Retreat in the Island of *St. John*, where a considerable Establishment was then talked of, and even attempted. It will not be foreign to our Subject to follow the *French* Author a little farther, and give an Account of this Attempt.

‘ After the Isle of *Cape Breton*, that of *St. John’s*, which is very near it, is the largest of all those in the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, and has even this Advantage over the other, that all the Lands in it are fertile. It is about 20 Leagues in Length, and 60 in Circumference; has a safe and commodious Port; and is covered with Trees of all the most useful Kinds. No Notice, however, had been taken of this Island till after the Establishment was begun at *Cape Breton*: But then the Proximity of the two Islands suggested the Thought,

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that

(b) The true Jesuit appears in the Original of this Paragraph, more than we thought it necessary to follow in the Translation,

that they might be of great Utility one to the other.

In 1719 a Company was therefore formed, who resolved to people *St. John*, and to employ for that Purpose (b) Funds more easy at that Time to raise, than to preserve afterwards in the imaginary Value then affix'd to them. The Count de *St. Pierre*, Master of the Horse to the Duchess of *Orleans*, took this Project upon him, and the King, by his Letters Patent, dated in *August* the same Year, granted him the Islands of *St. John* and *Miscou* in free Tenure, without judiciary Power, which his Majesty reserved to himself, Homage being to be paid to his Castle of *Louisburgh*, on which it depends.---This Grant was for the Establishment of a Cod Fishery.

In *January* the next Year, the Count de *St. Pierre* obtain'd new Letters Patent, upon the same Conditions, for the Islands of *Magdalen* and *Boten*, or *Ramees*, with the Isles adjacent, as well for the Culture of the Lands, and clearing of the Woods, as for the Fisheries of Cod, Grampus, Porpoise, &c. and in all Appearance he had executed his Project, if his Associates had been like himself. But he soon met with that Disgust and Discouragement which are inevitable in Societies, the Members of which have not all an elevated Way of Thinking, but are united meerly by Interest: What will happen in all like Cases, where every one concern'd requires an equal Part in the Direction, happened to this Establishment. When the first Sums advanced are given without

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perfect

(b) The Author speaks of the *Mississippi* Stock, which by rising this Year to a great ideal Value, gave the Hint to the *South Sea* Scheme in *England* the Year following.

perfect Knowledge of the Nature and Advantages of the Place, and of the Obstacles that may be met with in the Design ; and when there is not a Liberty of chusing proper Persons for the Execution of such Design, little Fruit is ever to be expected among selfish Undertakers. For Want of having taken the proper Measures, the first Attempt did not succeed, and as there was no Probability of proceeding on better Measures, the Undertaking was abandoned.

Upon the Conclusion of the Peace of *Utrecht*, there was a great Stir about *Cape Breton*, then called *Isle Royale*. The *French* entrusted the Establishment of it, as I said, to Mess. *De Costebelle* and *De St. Ovide*, and the *English* complained loudly that it was given up. The City of *London*, in her Instructions to her Members in the next Parliament, required them to demand of the Ministers of the preceding Government, why they left *Canada* and the Island of *Cape Breton* in the Hands of the *French*.

It appears farther from the Work of our Jesuit, that the *French* were very apprehensive during the Peace between the two Nations, that if ever a War broke out again betwixt them, the People of the *British* Colonies, who are able to raise sixty thousand fighting Men, would attempt to get not *Cape Breton* only, but *Canada*, out of the Hands of the *French*, who could not raise five thousand between fourteen Years of Age and sixty : And that *Vaudreuil*, the Governor of *Canada*, acknowledged, in a Memorial laid before the *French* Ministry, that the *Canadians* had no Security, during the former Wars, but in the Friendship of the *Indian* Nations, which they therefore

therefore industriously cultivated; nor could expect to be saved against any future Attempt otherwise than by their Assistance.

As to *Acadia*, the Possession of which was left us by the said Treaty of *Utrecht*, it appears how much the Country was liked by the Behaviour of the *French* Planters there settled, and the Instance I before quoted: And what Value the *French* Ministry put upon it, while they had it in Possession, is more fully set forth in the *Jesuit's* Work, from which I have been extracting.

His Words with Regard to *Newfoundland*, the entire Possession of which was given to us by the same Treaty, are worth inserting. "The *English*, says he, will get more by the Cession of what we there held than we shall lose: For besides that *Isle Royale* will indemnify us in Part for *Placentia*, all the Inhabitants of which were transported to *Louisburgh*, those Inhabitants will find themselves more at Ease there than ever they were in *Newfoundland*: Whereas the *English* are become absolute Masters of an Island, where they were before sure of nothing while they had us for Neighbours."

This Author likewise gives us the History of the Restoration of *Hudson's-Bay* by the same Peace, in which there is nothing remarkable, and only mentions it by Way of Memorandum that *Hudson's-Bay* was then restored.

What M. *Savary*, in his *Histoire de Commerce*, says of the Island of *Cape Breton*, does not in all Respects agree with the Account of Father *Charlevoix*: But some Parts of his Article concerning the

the Commerce of this Isle will prove how right Mess. *de Raudot* were in their Opinion of the Advantages that might be made of it, by shewing what that Commerce actually was in 1723, only Nine or Ten Years after the Foundation of *Louisburgh*, when this Dictionary was first published. I should have been glad to have seen this Article continued down to the Year 1742, when the last Edition was printed. But the Editors own they wanted Materials upon the Affairs of *America*. We may reasonably judge, however, that the Article of *Cape Breton*, or *Louisburgh*, might have grown to be more than three Times (a) as considerable as we here see it. To this Extract I shall add two or three from our own Writers, who made their Remarks on Occasion of the Acquisition of this Island to the Crown of *Great Britain*.

Extract from Savary's Dictionnaire de Commerce.

THE Colony of *Louisburgh* is more modern than that of *Louisiana*, the French not having settled there till 1714, after they had ceded to the *English* the Port of *Placentia*, and the other Posts they held in *Newfoundland*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. This Isle formerly (b) belonged to *France* under the Name of *Cape Breton*, as making a Part of *Canada*,

(a) The Truth of this will appear in the following Extracts from *English* Writers, who have written since, or about the Time that this Island fell into the Hands of the *English*.

(b) See Page 1, 2.

Acadia, and the *French* had fortify'd it before the Year 1640. They afterwards abandoned it; their Establishments in the Island of *Newfoundland* sufficing for their Fishermen, and Merchants concerned in the Cod Fishery. But the Cession of *Newfoundland* to the *English*, and the Prohibition to the *French* of making any settled Fishery on that Island, made them resume their antient Project of peopling the Island of *Cape Breton*: And, in order to secure to *France* the Possession of it hereafter, the same Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which took from her *Placentia*, granted her *Louisburgh*, expressing, " That the
 " Isle called *Cape Breton*, and all others what-
 " soever that are situated in the Mouth and Gulph
 " of *St. Laurence's* River, shall for the future re-
 " main to *France*, with entire Leave for his Most
 " Christian Majesty to fortify one or more Pla-
 " ces."

Thus it was from the Ruins of the *French* Colony at *Newfoundland*, and the Remains of that of *Acadia* (a), ceded also to the *English*, that *Cape Breton* has been peopled, and that it already seems a flourishing Colony, not only by the Culture of the Lands; but chiefly by the Cod Fishery. With respect to the latter, the Fish are in such Abundance, and the Convenience of Beaches to dry them on are so many and great, that we flatter ourselves this Isle will be in no Respect inferior to that we have abandoned.

Louisburgh (b), which is the Name of the Isle
 as

(a) We have before shewn that the *French* in *Acadia* did not move on this Occasion.

(b) In several Things that follow, concerning the Geography and Description of this Island, M. *Savary* differs widely from *Charlevoix*,

as well as of the Fort and principal City; the Foundations of which are already laid, is situated 10 Leagues from Cape *Canso*, in 45 Degrees of Latitude. It is about 80 Leagues in Compass, including the little Isle of *Mary*, which lies very near it.

The great Isle is almost cut in two by a Gulph, or large Interval of Sea, called *Labrador*, which leaves only 800 Paces of Land for an Isthmus to join the two Peninsulas.

The Lands about *Labrador* are but indifferent, yet a great deal of Lime-Stones is found in them. Those of *St. Peter's* Gulph, and the Mountains near it, are excellent. Mines of Pit-Coal are found in this Island, which is transported to the *Antilles*, and fine Quarries of several Kinds of Marble, Specimens of which have already been sent into *France*. Firs, Pines, and Oaks may be also brought from hence in Abundance, for the Building of Ships.

In general (a) the Coasts of this Island are not very safe, especially the Channel between the great Isle and Isle *St. Mary*, which is very dangerous. Here are, however, many good Ports, as *Port de la Baleine*, *English Haven*, *Spaniard's River*, and *St. Anne's Haven*, which are all capacious, and afford very good Anchorage.

The best of all is *St. Anne's Haven*, (b) called

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at

voix, and all other Writers: So that we may suppose he might not be well informed in this Particular: But with Regard to the Trade of the Island, and other Things of the greatest Consequence, a Man who was Inspector-General at the Custom-House of *Paris* could not be much mistaken.

(a) It should have distinguished the East and South-East Coasts from the rest.

(b) These two Names, which he gives to the same Port, belong to the two most distant good Ports in the whole Island: See before pag. 5; 8; and the Map.

at present *Port Toulouse*, where Vessels of three or four hundred Tons may come in at all Times, and which might contain above 1000 Sail. The Haven abounds in Salmon and Mackarel. The Coal Mines are four Leagues up *Spaniard's River*, and at the Entrance of *Little Chibcu*, besides some other Places.

The *French* who first inhabited this Isle, to shun the Danger of the Coasts, and save themselves a long Voyage, used to sail down to the Point of Lake *Labrador*, and from thence drag over their Boats from one Sea to another, in order to carry on their Fishery with the greatest Ease; Cod Fish being in great Abundance almost every where about the Isle during the whole Summer.

The principal Places for the Cod Fishery, which is the chief and almost the only Object of this Colony, are *Green Isle*, and the Isles *Michaux*, which are but three Leagues from *Port St. Peter*, and *English Haven*, which is distant 10 Leagues. Here the Fishermen of *Olone* used formerly to come and water, in order to be the first upon the Great Bank, and consequently the first that returned to *France*, where dry Cod fetches a good Price, and has great Vent at first coming in.

There is also a great deal of this Fish in the *Fourillon*, which is behind *Cape Breton*, as well as at *Niganiebe*, and the *North Cape*. The two latter Places are not convenient, one being capable of holding only three Ships, and the other but a single Vessel. But as the Fish are to be caught most early in these Places, and are in the highest
Perfecti-

Perfection, the Profits over-balance the Difficulties.

Herrings and Mackarel, of which Abundance are caught all round the Isle, serve for Baits for the Cod, which run at those Fish more greedily than any Thing else. But it is not our Business here to describe the Fishery, a particular Account of that being to be met with elsewhere.

This Island was formerly inhabited by Savages, and had Abundance of Elks. There is Hope of bringing back the Natives by the Profits of the Fur Trade, and many of those in *Acadia*, who were in Amity with the *French*, when they were Masters of that Country, begin to come into the Isle of *Cape Breton*.

Since the Colony has been established at *Louisburgh*, the Vessels which go to *Canada* touch there in their Return, and load with the Commodities of the Island, especially Cod, which they pay for in ready Money, Corn, or some of the Products of *Quebec* and *Europe*. Ships also arrive here from *Normandy*, *Nantes*, and *Rockelle*, who bring hither most of the *European* Goods for the Use of *Canada* and the Isles. And the King likewise sends hither regularly some Ships every Year, who carry Stores for his Majesty's Magazines, and whatever is necessary for the Support of the Troops and Officers in Garrison. By the same Means the Inhabitants are furnished with whatever they want in the Colony.

The Establishment of *Isle-Royale* being so principal an Object of the *French* Commerce since the Cession of *New England* and *Placentia* to the *English*, nothing has been omitted that might not only contribute to its Support, but that might

tend to raise and improve its Fishery, and make it exceed the Advantages that were formerly drawn from the two Settlements that have been given up. Among a great Number of Instances that his Majesty has been pleased to give of his Attention to make this new Colony flourish, one of the principal, without Question, was the general Exemption, for a Time, from all Customs at Importation, both for fresh and dry Cod, and for all the Oils drawn from Fish in and about this Island, and coming from thence into the Kingdom in Ships belonging to his Majesty's Subjects.

The Arret of the Council of State, which grants this Exemption, is dated *May 3, 1723*.

His Majesty ordains by it, that for the Space of Ten Years, to begin from the first of *July* next, all Cod Fish, green or dry, and the Oils proceeding from the Fishery of his Subjects at *Ile Royale*, called formerly *Cape Breton*, shall be and remain Duty-free in all the Ports of the Kingdom, both in the Ocean and the *Mediterranean*. This Exemption specifies all the Rights of Entry belonging to the five great Farms; those of Landing and Consumption, in the Ports of *Normandy*; those of the Provostship of *Nantes*; those of *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, *Lyons*, *Arles*, &c. and the Ports and Havens of all the Places that have special Privileges.

All this, however, upon Condition, that at the Departure of Ships from the Ports of the Kingdom, the Masters and Captains of the Vessels shall make their Declarations at the Office of his Majesty's Farms, and the Register Office of the Admiralty, of the Burthen of their Ships for the
Cod-

Cod-Fishery at *Isle Royale*; of which Declaration an Extract shall be delivered by the Receiver of the Farm Office, without Expence: And that at their Return from the Fishery, arriving in the Ports of the Ocean, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, or the River *Loire*, after having made their Declaration at the Farm Office, in the usual Manner, of the Quantity of Fish they have on board, and of the Oils arising from the Fishery of the said *Isle Royale*, they shall give in the Extract of their Declaration Departure, which Extract shall be kept and filed by the Receiver, who shall supply him with a Duplicate also without Charges, for him to make use of on every Occasion.

On the 13th of *September* the same Year, a like Exemption was granted, for the Fish and Oils of the Isle of *St. John*, which is resorted to since his Majesty's Subjects have made the Establishment at *Isle Royal*."---Thus far *Savary*.

In the Year 1732 the Trade of *Cape Breton* (a) was so increased, that when the *Fleurion* and *Brilliant*, two *French* Men of War, were ordered upon that Station, to cruize on the Banks, examine into the State of the Fishery, and give the Fishermen any necessary Assistance and Protection; and from thence to *Canada*, and so back to the Fishery again; and then to convoy those Ships that had made their Voyage, and were ready to depart for *Europe*: The *Marquis de la Maison Fort*, who was on board one of those Ships, remarks thus on his Journal:

"*Louisburgh* is a good Port, and a safe Harbour, and will be sufficiently secured against
2 all

(a) See *Computation of the French Fishery*, &c. after the accurate Journal before quoted. Exon 1746.

“ all Infults, when the Fortifications, which they
 “ are now diligently at work on, come to be
 “ compleatly finish'd. More than a hundred
 “ Vessels arrive here every Year from *France* to
 “ fish for Cod, and employ the People of the
 “ Country to fish for them in small Craft of
 “ their own. Those Fish they salt and dry from
 “ the Beginning of *June* till *October*, when they
 “ all get ready to depart, every Vessel for its
 “ respective Port. This Island produces some
 “ Grain likewise: But, tho' the Inhabitants are
 “ more than 4000, they find their Account
 “ much better in Fishery than Husbandry; and
 “ consequently the Land lies waste, they procu-
 “ ring all Necessaries in Exchange for their
 “ Fish.”

Before I quit the *French* Writers upon this
 Subject, it may not be amiss to make an Extract
 of the Value put upon this Island at its first Es-
 tablishment, by a *French* Minister, M. de Pont-
 chartrain, as we find it in a Letter to the Duke
 de Grammont, dated *Sept. 9, 1713*. We have
 here besides a short History of the Beginning of
 this Settlement, which in little more than 30
 Years, has grown to be of the Consequence we
 shall by and by mention.

“ You will be persuaded of the Attention I
 “ give to procure to the Merchants that deal in
 “ the Fishery the Means of continuing it, when I
 “ have informed you, that the King sent from
 “ *Rocheport*, in the Month of *May* last, one
 “ Frigate, to go and lay the first Foundation of
 “ an Establishment in *Cape Breton*, where Fish
 “ is much more abundant than in the Island of
 “ *Newfoundland*, and where one may take the
 Fish,

“ Fish, and manage the drying of it easily. This
 “ Frigate arrived on the 16th of *June* at *Placentia*, from whence she was to continue her
 “ Course to *Cape Breton*, to which Place I have
 “ caused 100 Men to be transported to begin
 “ the Settlement. His Majesty will send in the
 “ Beginning of the Year three Ships, to transport
 “ thither the Garrison of *Placentia*; and put the
 “ last Hand to the Establishment of that Port.
 “ The Merchants of this Kingdom may send
 “ all such Ships as they shall think fit to order for
 “ dry Fish, and for the Oil that shall be made
 “ from the Fish on the said Island. This Fa-
 “ vour ought to animate the Merchants who
 “ drive this Commerce to carry it on with Vigour,
 “ from the Advantage they will draw from it.”

If we come now to our *English* Writers, we
 shall find it a Point acknowledged, that this I-
 sland was originally the Property of *England*; that
 it was always accounted of great Value, and that
 our Ministers were the Bubbles of *France*, when,
 after a ten Years successful War, they consented
 to part with it to the *French*, upon the poor Pre-
 tence of supplying them with Fish upon their Fast
 Days. That I may not be thought to advance
 this at Random, I shall in the first Place give
 the Sentiments of that Time, when the Peace of
Utrecht was just concluded, as introductory to
 what I may hereafter say upon the improv'd Va-
 lue of this Island, as it appeared at the Time of
 our reducing it in *June* the last Year.

When the Treaty of Commerce was on foot,
 the *English* Council of Trade proposed some ad-
 ditional Articles, one of which was, “ That
 “ from henceforth all Cod, Ling, or Haick, or
 salted

“ salted Herrings, Salmon, and all Fish whatsoever, dry or wet, may be freely imported from the Dominions, and by the Subjects of *Great Britain*, in *British* Ships, into the Territories of *France*, without being liable to repacking, notwithstanding any Edicts, Arrêts, or Orders to the contrary ; ---- and also that the said *British* Ships shall have Liberty to sell the Fish, so imported, to whatever Buyer they please.”

This Article his most Christian Majesty rejected, and instead of it gave us an Exception for our Fish in the Body of the Treaty : And in the Articles signed a Month afterwards, tho’ he was pleased to grant us Liberty to import our Fish into his Countries, it was under such Duties, and with such Limitations and Restrictions, that the Author of the *British Merchant* justly observed, they plainly shewed, he wanted none at all from us, and that he knew very well the Value of *Cape Breton*, which had been granted him by the late Treaty.---In another Place we have the following Passage by the same Author. (a)

“ But the most extravagant Part of the Story, and which shews that the *French* perfectly understand what is given up to them in *Cape Breton*, is still behind : And that is that Codfish, which were formerly imported into *France* by Tale, and paid from 3 Livres to 8 Livres 10 Sols *per* Thousand, must be hereafter imported in Barrels, or not at all, and pay 40 Livres *per* Cask, that is five Shillings *per* Barrel, a Duty equal to almost the whole Value of the Fish. And then, as for the Expence of Cask, which

(a) *British Merchant*, Vol. II. p. 138.

“ which is imposed on us, while their *Newfound-*
 “ *land* Fishermen may import their own in Bulk,
 “ and save this Expence; it is equal to almost all
 “ the Value of the whole Commodity. If the
 “ *French* King had made it High Treason for
 “ any *Briton* to import Codfish into his Country,
 “ he could hardly keep them out more effectua-
 “ ally than he will be able to do by this Article.
 “ *O Cape Breton! Cape Breton!*

At the Time we are speaking of, there was in this Island no Settlement, and the Sense of its Value arose only from reflecting on its Situation. But no sooner did the *French* obtain *Cape Breton* for themselves, but they had the Address to fortify and people it. Men of Penetration then foresaw that they would make of it another *Dunkirk*, in order to carry on their dry Fishery, as they had done before at *Placentia*: They foresaw and foretold, that this would oblige us to keep large Garrisons in *Newfoundland*, in order to prevent our being surpriz'd there. And what an Advantage must it be, to have in our Hands a Place that was ever capable of offending us, as well as of incroaching annually upon one of the most profitable Articles of Commerce, as well as the best Nursery of Sailors, the Cod-Fishery?

As to the State of *Cape Breton* and *Louisburgh* in 1745; they are thus described by Mr. *James Gibson*, who was a Gentleman Volunteer at the Reduction of them under the Subjection of *Great Britain*.

“ (a) This Place, which we have thus hap-
 “ pily made our own, may with Propriety be
 G “ call'd

(a) See the Journal of the Siege of *Cape Breton*, printed for J. Newbery at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard,

" call'd the Key of *Canada*, and *North America*.
" *rica*.

" The Island is near a hundred Miles long ;
" and has several fine Harbours in it very commodious for the Fishery ; whereof that at
" *Louisburgh* is the principal. The City is not
" only walled, but as it has several wide Trenches and Flankers, it may properly be said to be
" compleatly garrison'd. There is likewise a
" very grand Battery, directly opposite to the
" Mouth of the Harbour, the Ordnance whereof consists of above 30 Pieces of Cannon, all
" 42 Pounders.

" The Island Battery, moreover, which is
" planted at the Mouth of the Harbour, is of equal Strength and Force.

" Opposite to the Island Battery there is also a
" very fine and commodious Light-house, as well
" as a noble Harbour for the largest Ships.

" Near the Shore and Banks, which are about
" 20 Leagues Distance, there are Fish in abundance.

" As to the Climate, 'tis exceeding fine for curing Fish, and rendering them fit for a foreign
" Market. Here are Mackarel and Herrings in
" Pienty, both fat and large for Baits.

" The Land here produces very good Wheat,
" Rye and Barley ; and the Meadows the best of
" Grass. Besides these Commodities, here are
" fine Beach Wood and Flake, for the mutual Benefit of the industrious Fisherman and Farmer.

" This Port commands not only *Cape-Sable*
" Shore, *Canso*, and *Newfoundland* ; but the
" Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, and by Consequence,
" *Canada*.

“ *Canada*. It is a Safeguard likewise to the whole
 “ Fishery, as well as to foreign Vessels.

“ I have been inform’d by a *French* Gentleman,
 “ that the Settlement of the Island of *Gaspé* cost
 “ his Most Christian Majesty nine Millions and
 “ an Half of Money : And since the War com-
 “ menc’d, the Repairs that have been made to all
 “ the several Batteries have been attended with
 “ great Expence.”

Before I quit Mr. *Gibson*’s Piece, I must borrow
 another Passage from it, which contains the Tes-
 timony of an Enemy to the Greatness of the Ex-
 pedition of the *New England* People. We shall
 have more to this Purpose in a future Extract I
 am to make from the Rev. Dr. *Chauncy*’s Ser-
 mon on the Occasion : But I chuse to go through
 with each Witness as I proceed.

“ After we had marched into the City, says
 “ Mr. *Gibson*, I waited on a Gentleman who was
 “ inviolably attach’d to the King of *France* in
 “ Queen *Anne*’s Wars. This Gentleman had ta-
 “ ken the *New England* Country Galley; he
 “ assisted likewise in the taking of 70 Sail of
 “ Vessels more on the Coast of *New England*;
 “ and now, in the above-mention’d Siege, he
 “ came out of *Louisburgh* with fourscore and
 “ seven Men, in order to prevent our Troops
 “ from landing, but was happily beat off; This
 “ Gentleman, I say, told me, that he had not
 “ had his Cloaths off his Back, either by Day or
 “ Night, from the first Commencement of the
 “ Siege. He added moreover, that in all the
 “ Histories he had ever read, he never met with
 “ an Instance of so bold and presumptuous an
 “ Attempt ; that it was almost impracticable, as

“ one would think, for only 3 or 4000 raw, un-
 “ disciplin’d Men, to lay Siege to such a strong
 “ well fortify’d City, such Garrisons, Batteries, &c.
 “ For should any one have asked me, said he,
 “ what Number of Men would have been suffi-
 “ cient to have carried on that very Enterprize,
 “ I should have answered no less than thirty thou-
 “ sand. To this he subjoined, that he never
 “ heard of, or saw so much Courage and Intre-
 “ pidity in such a Handful of Men (a) who
 “ regarded neither Shot nor Bombs: But what
 “ was still more surprising than all the rest, he
 “ said, was this, namely to see Batteries rais’d in
 “ a Night’s Time, and more particularly the Fa-
 “ scine Battery, which was not five and twenty
 “ Roods from the City Wall; and to see Guns,
 “ that were forty-two Pounders, dragged by the
 “ *English* from their Grand Battery, notwith-
 “ standing it was two Miles distant at least, and
 “ the Road too very rough.”

Another Authority for the Strength of this Place, and the great Importance of it to us, we had from a Letter inserted in the Papers in *July* last, and said to be written by one of the principal Engineers (b) employed in the Siege. This Wri-

*

ter

(a) Dr. *Chauncy*’s Sermon assigns a Reason for this Courage and Intrepidity, which we shall by and by mention.

(b) This Engineer gives us the following List of the Artillery at *Louisburgh*, when it was besieged by the *English*.

Embrafures in the Town Wall	148,	Cannon 64
Embrafures in the Grand Battery	31,	Cannon 30
Embrafures in the Island Battery	36,	Cannon 31

Mortars of 13 Inches Bore
 Mortars of 9 Inches Bore

Cannon mounted	125
	10
	6

16

Almost all the Balls were 42 Pounders.

ter says, that if they had not taken the *Vigilante* Man of War, laden with Ammunition and Stores, and six other Ships laden with Stores and Provisions, it would have been impossible for them to succeed, notwithstanding the Ardour and good Conduct of both the Land and Sea Forces. " For " it is, says he, the strongest Harbour in the " *West Indies*. The *French* Engineer told me, " the fortifying it had cost two Millions of Livres (a); and if we keep it well garrison'd, " and supply'd with Stores, I may venture to pronounce it impregnable. It is the Key to *North America*, as *Gibraltar* is to the *Mediterranean*. " By this Conquest the *French* Fishery is entirely " ruin'd; their Trade up the River St. *Lawrence* " and to *Canada*, is commanded, and their homeward-bound *India-men*, who used to put in " here in Return, for Provisions and Stores, are " deprived of all Recourse: So that it is the severest Blow that could have been given to the " Enemy, and in the tenderest Part."

The Author of a late *Weekly Journal* remarks upon this Quotation, that what it says concerning the homeward-bound *India-men* has already been fully verified, to the great Emolument of our Sailors, and the still greater Loss and Disappointment of the common Enemy. We cannot, indeed, expect it will another Year be such a *Trap*, that their Ships shall voluntarily throw themselves into our Hands, because our Possession of the Place will by that Time be known through both
the

(a) When Mr. *Gibson*, in what precedes, speaks of Nine Millions and a half, I suppose he includes all the Expence of sending over annually Stores and Provisions, as well as what was expended on the Works.

the *Indies* : But by depriving them of this Place of Shelter and Security, this Station to wait for Convoy to *Old France*, we shall stand a ten times better Chance of picking them up with our Privateers and Cruizers.

This Advantage, though so very considerable, seems to have been overlook'd by Mr. AUCKMUTY; at least it is not mentioned in his Discourse upon the Importance of *Cape Breton* to the *British* Nation, wherein the other obvious Benefits from taking it were so lively depicted, that the *New England* People were excited by it to their Undertaking. I should be inexcusable were I to omit what this Gentleman wrote upon the Occasion.

“ This Island, situated between *Newfoundland*
 “ and *Nova Scotia*, the *English* exchanged with
 “ the *French* for *Placentia* in the Treaty of *Utrecht*;
 “ and, during the late Peace between the two
 “ Nations, the *French*, by the Advantages of the
 “ Place, carried on an unbounded Fishery, annually employing at least 1000 Sail, from 200
 “ to 400 Tons, and 20,000 Men. In the Year
 “ 1730 there was a Computation made of 220,000
 “ Quintals (*a*) of Fish at *Marseilles* only for a
 “ Market; and *communibus annis* they cure above
 “ five Millions of Quintals (*b*).

“ How

(*a*) A Quintal is a Hundred Weight.

(*b*) In the Computation of the *French* Fishery, lately publish'd, the Author makes his Estimate in this Manner.

“ From the Gut of *Canso* down along Shore to *Louisburgh*, and from thence to the North East Part of *Cape Breton*, there was yearly employed at least *Five Hundred Shallops*. And these required, at Sea and on Shore, *Five Men* each; which amount to *Two Thousand Five Hundred Men*: And *Sixty Brigantines, Schooners, and Sloops*, each of *Fifteen Men*, make *Nine Hundred Men* more: Which together make *Three Thousand Four Hundred Men*. Allow these 500
Shallops

" How dangerous a Nurse of Seamen this
 " Island therefore has been, or will be, while
 " in their Possession, is too obvious to a *British*
 " Consti-

Shallops to catch 300 Quintals of Fish each in the Summer Season ; and the Whole is 150,000 Quintals : And the 60 *Brigs, Schooners, &c.* each 600 Quintals, which make 36,000 more. So that there is made at *Cape Breton* annually of Fish *One Hundred, Eighty-six Thousand Quintals.*

Now, to carry this Fish to *Europe*, to Market, there must be employed 93 Sail of *Ships*, of the Burthen of 2000 Quintals each, one with the other ; and each of these *Ships* have at least 20 Men, which are 1860 *Seamen.* And these, added to the 3400 *Fishermen* above, make *Five thousand Two Hundred and Sixty Men*, employ'd at *Cape Breton* only in the Fishery.

At *Gaspay, Quadre*, and other Harbours, mentioned in the following Estimation, there are *Six Ships* yearly, which, as they come out from *France* mann'd to catch their own Cargoes in *Shallops*, which they haul up and leave in the Country every Winter, 'till they return the next Spring, one with another may be allowed *Sixty Hands.* And, it has always been allow'd, from *St. Maloes* and *Granville* they have at least *Three Hundred* Sail of these *Ships* in this Fishery, that fish at *Petit Norde, Fishante, Belle Isle*, and the *Gulph* ; whch will, all computed as above, (allowing those *Ships*, that so come out to make their own Voyages, to carry each 3000 Quintals) be as follows : —

	Ships.	Men.	Quintals.
At <i>Cape Breton</i> —————	93	5260	186,000
At <i>Gaspay</i> —————	6	360	18,000
At <i>Quadre</i> —————	6	360	18,000
At <i>Port en Basque</i> —————	6	360	18,000
At <i>Le Foils Isles</i> —————	3	180	9,000
<i>St. Maloe's Men</i> —————	300	18,000	900,000
	<hr/> 414 <hr/>	<hr/> 24,520 <hr/>	<hr/> 1149,000 <hr/>

Here it may be objected, that of the *Three Hundred Ships* above from *St. Maloes*, (which *they* insist upon) some of them are some of those *Ships* above reckon'd at *Gaspay, Quadre, &c.* Which is well known to be so. — But then, no regard is here had to the *Ships* to employ'd, among the rest, from *St. Jean de Luz, Bayonne, Nantz, Havre de Grace, &c.* which go annually into those Parts on the same Voyage ; which are a great many more in Number than those *Twenty-one Ships* above ; and would, could an exact List be had, much swell the Account.

Besides

“ Constitution ; and it is as demonstrable, the
 “ Recovery of a Place of this Consequence will
 “ entirely break up their Fishery, and destroy
 “ this

Besides all these, there have been constantly from the River *Sen-dre, Olune, Poiteux, Havre, &c.* *One Hundred and Fifty Ships* at least, the *French* say *Two Hundred Sail*, employ'd in the *Mud fishery*, or *Mort Vest* (as they call it) from *Sixteen to Twenty-four Men* each : Which carry home, upon an Average, from *Twenty-two Thousand to Thirty Thousand Fish* in Number ; which make, on the most moderate Estimate, *One Hundred and Fifty Sail of Ships* : And, on a Medium, *Twenty Men* each, are *Three Thousand Men*, and in the Whole *Three Million Nine Hundred Thousand Fishes* in Tale. These Ships are fitted out in *France* for their Voyages on the *Banks*, and there tarry 'till they are laden ; unless they meet with any Accident or Disturbance (in which Case they resort to *Cape Breton* for Shelter and Supplies) ; and from thence home to *France*. And it was, thus, frequent for them, when they had made their Voyages, to go into *Cape Breton* for Water especially, as they had no other Port.

In regard to the Value of this Branch of Trade, it is necessary here to observe, that there is hereby produced a large Quantity of *Train-Oil* ; which *France* has always an immediate Demand for at home, for their Woollen Manufactures, Lights, &c. And with which also their Sugar Colonies, that can't do without it, are yearly supply'd. It is certainly well known that they either do, or may at least, make *One Hoghead of Sixty Gallons of Oil*, clear drawn off from the *Blubber*, out of every hundred Quintals of Fish. And this, out of the Quantity of Fish before-mentioned, will produce *Eleven Thousand Four Hundred and Ninety Hogheads of Oil*. And allowing that *Four Thousand Fishes* in Number are equal to *One Hundred Quintals*, when cur'd, then the *Three Million Nine Hundred Thousand Mud fish*, by the same Rule, will yield *Nine Hundred and Seventy five Hogheads of Oil*. Which added to the other make *Twelve Thousand Four Hundred Sixty five Hogheads of Train-Oil*, which are equal to *Three Thousand One Hundred and Sixteen Tons and a Quarter*.

Now, let the 1,149,000 Quintals of Fish be } *l. s.*
 valued only at 10 *s.* Sterling per Quintal, the prime } —574,500 : 00
 Cost usually at *Newfoundland*, and it is worth—

And, to this, allow 3 *s.* Sterling Freight per }
 Quintal of it, in *English Bottoms*, to Market — } —172,350 : 00

And then the Fish only is worth £ 746,350 : 00

And

“ this formidable Seminary of Seamen. For if
 “ they are happily removed from this advanta-
 “ geous Shelter, no Protection is left for them
 “ on the Fishing Ground nearer than *Old France*:
 “ Therefore they will not expose themselves to
 “ the frequent Surprises and Captures of the
 “ *English* from this Island, and the Continent;
 “ but finally will be obliged to quit the Un-
 “ dertaking, leaving the *English* in the sole
 “ Possession of this most valuable Branch of
 “ Trade, which annually will return to the *Eng-*
 “ *lish* Nation 2,000,000*l.* Sterling, for the Ma-
 “ nufactures yearly shipped to her Plantations;
 “ and constantly employ thousands of Families,
 “ otherwise unserviceable to the Publick; and
 “ greatly increase Shipping, and Navigation, and
 “ Mariners.

“ It is farther to be observed, while the *Eng-*
 “ *lish* solely supply foreign Markets with this
 “ Commodity, *Roman* Catholick Nations will
 “ have a sort of Dependency on them.

H

“ Moreo-

And let the 3116 & qr. Tons of Oil be valued }
 at 18 *l.* Sterling *per* Ton, the Amount of it is — } — 56,392: 10

As to the Mud-Fish, it is generally sold in }
France at 1000 *Livres per* 1000 Fish; and then at } — 178,750: 00
 11 *d.* Sterling *per* *Livre*, their Value is — } —

And thus it appears that one Year's Fishery of }
 the *French* only is worth, Sterling. — } £ 981, 92: 10

Which great Branch of Trade, in a Manner, depends entirely
 on their Possession of the Island of *Cape Breton*, as it is impossible to
 carry it on without some convenient Harbour of Strength, &c. to
 supply, support, and protect it: And is now with us to determine
 whether they shall enjoy it or not.

“ Moreover, the Acquisition of this important
 “ Island cuts off all Communication between
 “ *France* and *Quebec*, the Navigation to *Canada*
 “ River bearing near it ; and must obstruct
 “ the *French* Navigation thro’ the Bay of St.
 “ *Lawrence* to the only Possessions the *French*
 “ have upon the Sea-Coast, to the Northwards
 “ of *Louisiana*, in the Great Bay of *Mexico*.

“ By this Means *Quebec* must, in the Run
 “ of a very little Time, fall into the Hands of
 “ the *English* ; and the *Indians*, wanting the
 “ usual Protection and Supplies from *France*,
 “ will be obliged to court the *English* for both.
 “ And having once experienced the Treatment
 “ of both Nations, as the latter can supply them
 “ better and cheaper than the former, they
 “ will consequently be rivetted in Interest to
 “ her ; and thus the *English* will render them-
 “ selves entirely Masters of a rich and profitable
 “ Fur Trade, at present chiefly engrossed by the
 “ *French*.

“ But the Consideration alone, that the *Bri-*
 “ *tish* Navigation and Settlements on the Sea-
 “ Coasts throughout *North-America*, at present
 “ lie terribly exposed to their Men of War
 “ and Privateers from this Island, claims an
 “ Attention to proper Measures, for immediate-
 “ ly regaining the Possession of it. For from
 “ hence the *French*, with Ease and little Time,
 “ may station themselves in Latitudes proper to
 “ intercept the Navigation between *England*
 “ and her Plantations, and the Intercourse of
 “ Trade subsisting between one Plantation and
 “ another, by Captures supplying themselves
 “ with *English* Manufactures, Naval Stores,
 “ Masts,

“ Mafts, Plank, Yards, Lumber, Sugar, Cot-
 “ ton, Provisions, &c. and from its Vicinity
 “ with the Continent, may, with like Eafe,
 “ furprife our Settlements along the Coaft, and
 “ take the Maft Ships when loaded out of *Cafco*
 “ and *Portfmouth* Harbours. Whereas the Ac-
 “ ceffion of this Ifland to the *British* Domini-
 “ ons will not only fecure our Navigation, and
 “ guard our Coaft in *America*, but will be a fafe
 “ Retreat for our Men of War in the Hurricane
 “ Months, or when threaten’d with a fuperior
 “ Force, Befides there they with greater Safe-
 “ ty, and lefs Expence to the Crown, may refit,
 “ than in any Harbour in *North America*.”

Thus far this *New England* Orator, who, like another TYRTÆUS, animated his Countrymen to that Expedition, which will ever be an Honour to that Colony, as well as to the prefent Age. The reft of this Piece relates to the Manner of Proceeding in making this Acquisition, of which it is fufficient here that we know from the Confequence it had its defired Effect.

And as to the Advantages above enumerated, which we may expect in a Courfe of Time, I have been affured, that tho’ the *English* Colony has not yet had Time properly to form, the Value of Eftates is already greatly rifen upon the Continent, from the bare Proſpect of greater Strength and Security. The other Benefits will accrue chiefly to *Old England*.

Should it ever be propoſed therefore, in a future Negotiation, to reftore this invaluable Conqueſt; let it be the Voice of the whole *British* Nation, as of one Man: *We will liſten to equitable Conditions: But CAPE BRETON never ſhall,*

never can be parted with on any Consideration. Rather let the War with France continue these twenty Years, provided we only prosecute it on our own Element.

I have before mentioned, that the Author of the Accurate Journal of the late Expedition calls *Louisburgh* but an indifferent Harbour for Shipping, and given my Reason for thinking him in that mistaken (a). The rest of his Description runs thus, " It has a small Town, on a Point of Land, on the South Side of it, regularly fortified and walled in ; and on the North Side, fronting the Entrance, one exceeding fine Battery of Thirty Forty-two-pounders ; and on the West Side of the Entrance, (which is North and South) upon an Island, another of Twenty-eight Twenty-four-pounders, called *The Island Battery* ; which, with the former, called the *Royal* or *Grand Battery*, were designed to secure the Entrance of the Harbour from any Enemy's Ships going in to annoy them: And were thought sufficient to answer their Design.

The Island of CAPE BRETON extends from the Gut of *Canso*, the Eastern Boundary of *Nova Scotia*, E. N. E. about thirty-three or thirty-four Leagues; and is what helps to form the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, which has three several Passages in and out, viz. At the Northward of *Newfoundland*, betwixt that and the Main, which Passage is called the Streights of *Belle-Isle* ; another between *Cape Breton*, the Eastmost Part, and the West of *Newfoundland*,---which is the common Passage ; and another through the Gut of *Canso*,

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Canso, which is betwixt the Eastmost Part of *Acadia* and the Westmost Part of the Island of *Madam*.

This Gulph *St. Laurence*, is a Sea, or Gulph, that has the River of *Canada*, and Land adjacent, at the West of it, *Cape Breton* at the Southward, *Newfoundland* at the Eastward, and the main Continent, that stretches from *Canada* River, to the Northward and Eastward. On the North of it and in the Gulph are fundry commodious Bays, Havens, Islands, Rivers, and Harbours; and at all Seasons of the Year Plenty of Cod-fish, and at particular Seasons Herring, Mackarel, Squid, Alewives, and Smelts for Bait: But the Ice in Winter renders its Navigation unsafe, if not altogether impracticable, at least to make Voyages of Fish; tho' in the Summer Season there have been yearly Fisheries carried on at *Gaspay*, at the Entrance of *Canada* River, and in the little Harbours from thence to *Bay Vert*, at the Islands of *St. John's* and *Magdalene*, at the Northward of the Gut of *Canso*, in and through the Gut, and from thence along Shore at *Nurichatte*, *Petit de Grat*, *Isles Mecheaux*, *St. Esprit*, *Forchette*, *Louisburgh*, *Laurembeque*, *La Baleine*, *Negamth*, *St. Ann's*, *Scattery*, and *La Bradore*; and from *Gaspay* round the North Side of the Gulph, at the several convenient Ports on the Main, quite to the Streights of *Belle-Isle*; and, by an Allowance to the *French* in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, (which they have made the most of) in all the Harbours at the Northward of *Newfoundland* that were unemployed by the *English*. And altho', comparatively speaking, there was but a small Number of their Ships fished at *Cape Breton* itself,

self, yet the Situation of that Island is such, they could all of them at Pleasure repair thither, on any Emergency or Danger; especially those that fished in the Gulph, on the Main, or those at the North-West of *Newfoundland*, who were all within one or two Days Sail at most; and also those Ships that loaded with Mud-Fish on the Banks.

So that this Island was the Key and Protection of their whole Fishery, and for that End was fortify'd and garrison'd, and valued by *France* equal to any other of its Colonies.

What other Uses it might serve for as a Port to the *East* and *West India* Men, and the Ships bound to *Canada*, on Occasion, to resort to for Wood and Water, to clean or repair, &c. was not so much in View as the securing and upholding this Trade, the *Fishery*: Which they had found the Sweets of before, enough to convince them it was absolutely necessary for them to out-do us in it, if possible; in order to which they were to spare no Cost for the *present* for the gaining a *future* Benefit by it, when they had gained their Point.

Their Conviction of the *growing Profit* of this Branch of *Trade*, and the Hopes of one Time or other *monopolizing* it, at least so far as respected the *Catholick Dominions*, made them take such indefatigable and indirect Means, the last War, to procure a *Neutrality*, so far as related to the *Fishery*; that they might even then vie with us in prosecuting their Voyages unmolested, as long as the *War* lasted; which they obtained by *Dint of Money*; and, on the *Peace*, in order to *secure* it to them for the future, stuck at no Terms to obtain

obtain this Island. Which they had no sooner effected, but *immediately* they began to settle it: And a new Colony was set on foot, to consist of *Fishermen only*, and Encouragement given, Forts, &c. built, and a Town garrison'd, to protect them. And the whole Nation seemed to have their Eyes on the Place; so that it was peopled more and more yearly; and a Fishery flourish'd so fast, that they could and did afford to *under-sell* us at Foreign Markets. And for the Protection of the Trade so to do, they had annually Ships of War sent them from *France*, to visit and supply them, with Orders to protect and defend not only their Sea-Coasts, but their Vessels on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, &c. not only from Insults *from us* (for of that there was no Occasion) but to make and keep their *Pretensions* good to the *several Banks*, either *within* or *without* their Line, and *make themselves a Privilege*, as it were, *of fishing almost where they pleased*, by Force of *Custom*."

What the same Writer farther says, with regard to the Advantages that may be made to arise from the keeping of *Cape Breton*, so well agrees with Mr. *Auckmuty's* Opinion, that I cannot excuse myself from inserting it here, though it be in Part only a Repetition, with some Enlargement, of what the last mentioned Gentleman has told us, ---- After having given the State of the Fishery here, as quoted in the long Note Pages 46, 49, he proceeds thus:

"In Addition to this let us consider, that in regard to the Woollen Manufacture, the Staple and Dependance of *England*, in which also the *French* have been vying with us, and have now brought that

that *Trade* to such a Pitch, as to carry it all over, not only their own Dominions, (formerly obliged to *Us* for fine Cloaths) but to a great Advantage into *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Turkey*, even to the great Detriment of *England*; ---- I say, in regard to this Branch of Trade, allow that every Man before-mention'd in the Fishery, in his Blanket, Watch-Coat, and Rugg, Pea-Jacket, &c. consumes of these coarser Woollens *Thirty Shillings Sterling per Annum*; and at that Rate even *their* Consumption will be *Forty-one Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling*; which, had we the whole Fishery to *Ourselves*, must of course be of *our own Manufacture*.

But, besides this, all due Consideration must be had to the Canvas, Cordage, Hooks, Lines, Twine, Nets, Lead, Nails, Spikes, Edge-Tools, Graplins, Anchors, &c. &c. that *Five Hundred Sixty-four Ships*, and the *Shallops* to fish for them, must expend at Sea and on Shore: And allow all these to be *British*, and the immediate Value of this Branch of Trade to *England*, could she (or rather *would she*) keep it to herself, will discover itself of greater Consequence than *any other*; not even excepting the *TOBACCO*; that is, than any other Trade dependent on the Plantations. *First*, in regard to the raising Seamen for the Royal Navy; *Secondly*, the Consumption of the *British* Manufacture and Produce; and, *above all*, in a certain yearly Remittance of the Ballance of this Trade made to *England* from *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, &c. either in Specie, or in such Foreign Commodities as pay his Majesty a prodigious Revenue; and this procur'd by Dint of Labour only, and fetch'd out of the Abundance of our Seas.

Thus,

Thus, supposing the *French* entirely excluded this Fishery, (as *may*, and *must*, be the Case if *England* keeps *Cape Breton*, and allows *them* no longer any Privileges at *Newfoundland*; --- for *then* they will not have any Port convenient for them, at least till they fortify upon the Main in the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, --- which, having *Cape Breton*, we may hinder when we please); and adding the Advantage of their Fishery to that of our own already; and considering that the whole Papal Empire must then depend on *us solely* for their *Baccalaos*, which they can't do without, which will give us almost the whole Trade of the *Mediterranean*; and all the other national Advantages that must arise from this Consequence; and the present Acquisition of *Cape Breton* unpeopling the *French* Colony there, and reducing the Garrisons to *his Majesty's* Obedience, which must give us all the rest; is *of itself* a sufficient *Compensation for the War*; and will be so allowed by all those concern'd in Trade, that know the many Advantages and Benefits that must arise from this Branch of it only to *England*, by monopolizing the Whole of it.

But, besides the national Advantage by the Fishery; ----- by the Reduction of *Cape Breton*, and an *English* Garrison there, *France* has not any one Sea Port for the Relief of their Trading Ships, either to or from the *East* or *West Indies*, open to them any where in *North America*, to the Northward of the River of *Mississippi*. For *Canada* is not to be look'd upon as an open Port to the Sea; it being first Sixty or Seventy Leagues *within Land*, through the Gulph, to the Mouth of the River; and then a great deal further

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ther up the River. So that it is impracticable to think of going *thither* for Shelter: And of Consequence the whole Trade to and from the *West Indies*, &c. will be not only expos'd to our Privateers from the Northern Colonies in *War-Time*, without any Place to retreat to, but even in *Peace*, without any Sea-port they can call their own, or lay any Pretensions *now* to do, in these Seas, any where to the Northward of *Mississippi*, as above said.

And as to *Canada* itself, --- the River is *now* so much under our Command, as well as the *Gulph*, that all Trade *there* may be very easily stopped, and all Communication cut off from them by our Ships in and out of *Cape Breton*. So that (without Force or Arms) in a very few Years that Colony would fall, and the whole Trade of Furs, carried on with the *Indians* there, coming into the *English* Hands, *Canada* may be kept unable to supply or furnish them. But a happier Consequence than this will be, that, as they may be kept from supplying the *Indians* to trade, so also from encouraging them to annoy our Frontiers: And they (the *Indians*) even *must* become obliged to, and dependent upon *Us*; so that we shall not be in such continual Apprehensions of their *Hostilities*, but rather may have them in as much Subjection to *Us* as they have been to the *French*.

To all that is said before in regard to *Cape Breton*, let it be added, that by this Acquisition we have secured to the Nation the Garrison of *Annapolis Royal*, and the Colony of *Nova Scotia*. Which, being a very rich and fertile Soil, and its Rivers abounding with Fish, and settled by *French* Catholics, that Nation has much regretted the

Loss

Loss of, and wanted to recover. Yea, and which they endeavoured to retake, by laying Siege to *Annapolis*, both the last Year, 1744; and this present Year 1745; and would have got it, had it not been for our Expedition to *Cape Breton*, which caus'd them to raise the Siege and withdraw; and by our holding *Cape Breton*, we shall keep those *French* Inhabitants at *Acadia* in strict Allegiance to his Majesty, or else oblige them to quit their Possessions; which are all *Farms*, brought to and fit for any Service immediately. Which will be an Encouragement to our own Subjects to go and settle there; and also oblige the *Cape Sable Indians*, our Enemies, either to abandon that Shore, and fly to *Canada* for such Shelter and Supply as they can spare them. And by that Means we shall get rid of that Tribe at least, if not by the same Means, those also of the *St. John's* Tribe, which have been always troublesome to us; as both these Tribes have had their Dependance entirely on *Cape Breton* and the *French* of *Acadia*; the latter of which have (as *Neuters*) been supply'd and us'd as Subjects both by the *English* and *French*: Which we have long enough lamented the bad Consequence of, and which is now stopt; so that they must either depend entirely upon *Us*, and become good Subjects with us, or else on the *French*. And if the latter, they must of Course retreat to *Canada*, (where they will help distress, rather than relieve that Colony) and leave us *Nova Scotia* disencumber'd both of Themselves and Salvages.

Had we not taken *Cape Breton* this Year, and the *French* had taken *Annapolis*, (which it's not disputed They would have done, had we been

idle) the Consequence then would have been: -- All the Inhabitants of *Nova Scotia* would have declared for the *French King* immediately, and the Colony at once been established to him. And all the *Cape Sable* and *St. John's Indians*, who assisted at the Siege of *Annapolis* with those of *Canada*, would have been well supply'd with Arms, Ammunition, &c. and set loose upon our Frontiers: And their Success have so dispirited even those other Tribes that pretend to be at Peace with us, that they must have joined with them. And they together would have carried Havock, Devastation, and Ravage, all over our *Frontiers*: Whilst their Men of War, and Privateers, by Sea, would have destroy'd our *Sea-Ports*, and kept us in continual Alarms; without having it in our Power to hinder them from carrying their Conquests from *Annapolis*, along our Eastern Shore, even to *Cape Ann*, were they so inclin'd.

The quiet Possession of *All which* for the future in a great Manner depends immediately on this *Acquisition* and *Keeping* of *Cape Breton*, (if not fortified by Ourselves) at least from the *French*."

The last Extract I have to make is from the Sermon (a) I have several Times mentioned, in which the Reverend Author, while he piously and justly ascribes our Success in making this great and valuable Acquisition, to the divine Providence; with a Flow of Eloquence that I have not seen equall'd on the Occasion, gives an historical

(a) A Sermon preach'd the 18th of July, 1745. being the Day set apart for a solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Reduction of *Cape Breton*, &c. by *Charles Chauncy*, D. D. Pastor of a Church at *Boston*. *Boston* printed in 1745.

ical Picture of the Preparations, Proceedings, Accidents, Event, in a Word, of the whole Contrivance and Action in this wonderful Affair.

“ It may seem strange, that such a Country as this, so weak in Strength, so unskilled in the Use of Military Weapons, so distressed for want of Money, should make an Attempt upon so strong and fenced a City as *Louisburgh* at *Cape Breton*: Nor should we have entertained the Thought, if it had not been clearly pointed out to us by the *Providence of God*. It was apparently *Providence* that gave Rise to this important Design; partly, by permitting the *French*, last Year, to take *Canso*, and invade *Annapolis*, and form a Scheme to invade it again this Year; hereby opening to our View, in the clearest Manner, not only the *Justice*, but *Necessity* of reducing this Place, from whence we were exposed to suffer so much, both on our *Sea-Coasts*, and *Frontier-Borders*: Partly, by sending a Number of rich *East-India* Ships into the Harbour of *Louisburgh*, for the supply and manning of which, in their Voyage to *France*, so many of their Men, and such Quantities of their Stores were taken off, and so late in the Fall, as to render the Spring the *Nick of Time* (as we vulgarly speak) the most favourable Opportunity we might ever expect for an Enterprize of this Nature: Tho’ after all, it would probably have never been undertaken, if the *Providence of God*, notwithstanding the most prudent Steps, under good Advantages, to gain Intelligence, had not kept us strangely in Ignorance, both as to the vast Strength of the Place, and Number of Inhabitants that might suddenly be called in to its Assistance.

sistance. Many of our *Officers* and *Soldiers*, who now know these Things, have frequently declared, had they known them before, they should never have gone upon this Affair.

And as it was by the Direction of Providence, we were led to form an Enterprize of such vast Moment; to the same Cause must it be ascribed, that so many Things were remarkably ordered all along in favour of it, and so as finally to bring it to an happy Issue.

It was apparently owing to a signal Interposition in Providence, that so many Persons from all Parts of the Land, were spirited to offer themselves willingly for this Service; and that within two Months from the Resolution of the Government to undertake this Design, the whole Military Force was in readiness for Embarkation, and under Sail for the Place they were intended to go against. I believe I may say, such an Armament for an Infant Province, so voluntarily raised, so well fitted for their Business, and so speedily dispatched away, cannot be paralleled in History; Especially, if we take into Consideration, together with our Inexperience in Affairs of this Nature, the considerable Naval Force equipped; the great Number of Transports provided; the vast Quantity of Stores procured, both for the Support of our own Men, and the Annoyance of the Enemy: And as to many of these necessary Stores, such as *Cannon-Shot*, *Shells* of various Sizes, *Mortars*, *Coborns*, *Hand-Granadoes*, *Scaling-Ladders*, *Field-Pieces*, *common Carriages* for many of our Cannon, and *special ones* accommodated for the Transportation of those Cannon that were to be used in Battery; I say, as to these Stores, they

they were not only to be bought, but to be *made*: And yet, to the Surprize of every Body, the whole Work of Preparation, which was took in hand, after the Determination of the Court, *Jan.* 29th, was compleated by *March* 21st, when the *General* gave his Signal for sailing.

I may, not improperly, remark here to the Honour of this *Province*, that the Men, so suddenly and strangely got together to go upon this Expedition, were of a different Character from those, who are commonly sent upon such Occasions. They were not the Scum of the Land, idle, worthless Creatures, given to Prophaneness, Intemperance, and universally debauched in their Manners. A Number of such there might be: But for the *generality*, they were Men who had upon their Minds an Awe of God, and feared an Oath; they were Men industrious in their Callings, and well able to provide for themselves and Families; in a word, they were Men of Life and Spirit, animated with Love to their *King* and *Country*, and willing to venture their Lives, not so much to *serve themselves*, as to promote the *publick Good*. 'Tis a rare Thing for so many Men, of such a Character, to be engaged in a military Enterprize: And I cannot but think, there was a special Hand of Providence in it.

It was owing remarkably to the Government of Providence, that the *Weather* was so ordered in favour of this Enterprize. Perhaps, the oldest Man living does not remember so long a Course of moderate fair Weather as we were blessed with, while preparing for the Expedition. There was not the Loss of a Day, either by *Snow*, *Rain*, or *Cold*; which is wonderful in this Climate, at this

this Time of the Year. Some, who have preserved an Account of the Weather for more than twenty Years back, have been surprized to behold the Difference between the Months of *February* and *March*, this Year, and the foregoing ones; *This*, a continued Course of good Weather; *those*, as continually intermixed with Storms of *Snow*, or *Rain*, or *Severity of Cold*.

And the Weather was as remarkably favourable to our Design at *Cape-Breton*: For, as some have observed in their Letters, there was scarce ever known, among the *French*, such a Run of good Weather, as while they were laying Siege to *Louisburgh*; whereas, the very Afternoon they entered the City, the Rain came on, filled their Trenches with Water, and continued for such a Number of Days, that they must have gone thro' insufferable Difficulties, and been in danger of raising the Siege. The *French* themselves took Notice of this Disposition of Providence, and said, *It was visible God fought for us*.

It was observably owing to Providence, that our Soldiers were preserved from the Small-Pox, as such Numbers of them were in this Town, in order to embark, when that *infectious* Distemper broke out among us, threatening an universal Spread. And, perhaps, the Time was never known, when so many Persons, in so many different Parts of the Town, were taken ill with this Sickness, and it was notwithstanding stopped in its Progress: Which is the more worthy of special Notice, because, if it had prevailed, it would unavoidably have put an End to the intended Expedition.

It was owing to the wonderful Conduct of a kind Providence, that so considerable a military Force, at such a Season of the Year, should be carried in Safety to the Place they were bound for, without the Loss of a Man, or meeting with the least Disaster; and that their Design should be a *perfect Secret* to the Enemy, till they were surprized with the Sight of our Fleet, going into *Chappeaurouge Bay*. It was this that made way for landing our Men and Stores without Annoyance, unless from a small Party of the *French*, some of whom were taken, some killed, and the rest oblig'd to flee for their Lives.

It was owing to the extraordinary Favour of Providence, that the Enemy, so soon after our landing, forsook their *Grand-Battery*; allowing us to enter and take Possession of it without the least Opposition. This seems, on the one Hand, to be a most fatal Mistake to *them*, which can scarce be accounted for, unless from a *Spirit of Infatuation*, or a mighty *Terror* seizing their *Hearts*; And on the other, the leading Advantage put into *our* Hands; as it animated our Men with Life and Vigour, furnished them with the *heaviest Cannon* made use of in the Siege, and enabled them with greater Speed, and less Danger, to make their Attempt on the Town.

And here was a Series of Things remarkably over-ruled in Providence.

Not only were our Men disposed and enabled to transport their Cannon (some of which were of large Size and Weight) over Hills and Rocks, and through Morasses, in which sometimes they sunk with their Carriages so as to be buried in the Mire; but in Sight of the Enemy, and with-

in Reach of their Shot, they erected Batteries, mounted Guns, fixed Mortars, and soon got all Things in readiness, both to *cannonade* and *bombard* the Town: And all without the Loss of scarce a Man. And though they were nine and forty Days besieging the City, and had their nearest advanced Battery within less than *Thirty Rods* of its *Western Gate*, (as the Measure has since been taken) and were playing from it most of the Time, and receiving the Enemies Fire; yet the Men slain were but an handful.

And the like signal Preservation they met with at their *Battery* by the *Light-House*. This was the greatest Annoyance to the Enemy, and, under God, the greatest Cause of their Surrender. And the whole Time they were erecting it, and getting their heavy Cannon up the high and steep Rocks, to the Amazement of the Enemy, they were continually play'd upon both by their Cannon and Bombs: And yet, if I remember right, there was no more than one Man slain. The whole Number indeed of Men lost, whether by the Sword, or Sicknefs, or Disaster, during the Siege, did not amount to more than an hundred and twenty. This is the *Doing of the Lord*, and ought to be *marvellous in our Eyes*. The like has scarce been known in the World.

But besides these Favours of Providence, there was a most seasonable Coincidence of Events, all tending to point our View to God, and to lead us in'o an Apprehension of him as remarkably appearing to grant us Success.

Such was the coming in of a large Supply of those very Provisions which were wanted, just as
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our Forces were ready to fail, and without which they must have been delayed.

Such was the taking a Number of *Store-Ships* going to the Relief of the Enemy, as well as intercepting a *Packet* from *France* to the Governor of *Cape Breton*, which might have contained Advices of great Importance to the *French*, and Disservice to us.

And such also was the taking a large Ship of War, with more than five hundred Men, Provisions for eight Months, and about an hundred Barrels of Powder more than her own proper Store. Had the Providence of God permitted her to go in safely, it might have defeated our Design. Such a Number of Men, and such a Quantity of Provision and Ammunition, would have given Heart, as well as Strength to the Enemy, and some think, must have obliged us to raise the Siege. But what a merciful Turn did her Capture give to our Affairs? Not only were the Enemy weakened, but a great Part of their Strength put into our Hands to be turn'd against them; besides that our *Army* received a Supply of Powder, which was now so wanted, that our Cannon must have been silent without it.

And this Event is the more worthy of Notice, because of the Incidents in Providence remarkably leading to it. A *Packet-Boat* from *Great Britain* arrives to Commodore *Warren* in the *West Indies*, ordering him to *Boston* with several Ships of War, to advise with Governor *Shirley* for the Protection of the *Northern Colonies*; which is the more observable, as the *Commodore*, thro' the Ignorance of his Pilot, had just before lost his own 60 Gun-Ship, by means whereof he could give

our Governor, who had dispatched Letters to him, advising him of the Design against *Cape Breton*, no great Encouragement to expect his Help; tho' being now acquainted with the Resolution of this Government, he was prepar'd and dispos'd to hasten away with the greater Speed, upon his Orders from *Home*. But had he come to *Boston*, as he intended, agreeable to his Orders, he had probably been too late at *Cape Breton* to have met with *this Ship of War*. A Vessel therefore is accidentally cast in his Way at Sea, accidentally to Man, but *intentionally* by God, giving him certain Information that the *New England* Forces had been some Time on their Voyage; upon which, though in Want of Water and Provisions, he altered his Course, and arrived before the Harbour of *Louisburgh* time enough to save the *Vigilant*, a fine new 64 Gun Shig, designedly sent from *France* for the Protection of the *French*, and Distress of the *English*.

But the most astonishing Article in the Conduct of Providence, was its disposing the Enemy, by surrendering their City and Fortresses, to prevent that general Assault, both by Sea and Land, which had been resolved upon, and must have occasioned a most dreadful Effusion of Blood on both Sides: And God only knows what the Event would have been; as the *French* were so strongly fortified, and had within their Walls 600 regular Troops, and, at least, 1400 of the Inhabitants, whom they had called in to their Assistance.

Upon the whole, the Reduction of *Louisburgh*, considering the immense Sums of Money that have been laid out by the King of *France* to render

render it impregnable; and considering also that it was accomplished by inexperienced, undisciplined Troops from *New England*, is an Event truly surprising, and will be spoken of as such at home, and handed down as such to the Children yet unborn.

CONCLUSION.

From this Cloud of Witnesses we may collect;

1. That *Cape Breton*, notwithstanding the Diversity of Accounts by different Authors concerning the Soil, Produce, Climate, and Harbours, is, upon the Whole, a Place of considerable Value in itself, and represented as most valuable by those who had best Opportunities of examining its Condition.

2. That by its Situation, at the Mouth of the Gulph of St. *Laurence*, between *Newfoundland* and the great Fishing Bank, and the main Continent of *North America*, and by the happy Circumstance of having its Ports all open to the Ocean, this Island would be of inestimable Worth to the Possessor, though it did of itself produce nothing at all.

3. That whoever are possess'd of *Newfoundland* and *Acadia*, if they have *Cape Breton* at the same Time, may command all the Fishery of *North America*: But whoever have *Newfoundland* and *Acadia*, if they have not *Cape Breton* likewise, can pretend only to a Share in this Fishery, and not the best Share neither, if the People of another Nation, who are in Possession of *Cape Breton*, be better protected and more industrious than the Possessors of *Newfoundland* and *Acadia*.

4. That the Fishery of the *Newfoundland* Islands and Banks, (under which general Name I

include *Cape Breton*, and all the rest in those Seas) and the opposite Coasts along the Continent, might, if carried to the highest, and made the most of, by any one Nation, be render'd of more Value than the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico*, or than any other Possession or Property that can be had in any Part of the World.

5. That the Reason of this is, because a vast Quantity of Salt Fish is a necessary Part of the Support of the present large and populous Nations of *Europe*, as well on Account of the frequent Deficiencies and Failures of other Provisions, as from Motives of Religion or Superstition, which bind down two Thirds of the People in *Christendom* to the Use of no other Flesh but that of Fish for almost half the Days in the Year.

6. That these latter Motives induc'd the *French*, while they were in Possession of *Cape Breton*, to be more industrious in the Fishery than the *English*, and their Crown to give them better Protection; by which Means they outvied us greatly in this Trade, and in a Course of Time might have driven us entirely out of it: Whereas we, by possessing the Whole, shall have the strongest Incentives, those of immense Profit, to cultivate this Trade to the utmost, and our King will have the most powerful Reason to protect us, from the great Addition this Trade must in Time bring to the Revenue.

7. That if ever *Cape Breton* be restored to the *French*, or they are suffer'd to establish and carry on without Interruption any other Fishery, the same Motives will revive again, and the same Encouragement will be given them by the *Roman Catholic* Nations to outvie us in this Trade: But if we keep the Whole in our Hands, (as we very

well may, by the Help of our Fleets) all the Papists in *Christendom* will depend upon us for their Fast Day Provisions, and must pay us a greater Tax for their Superstition than they pay even to the Pope himself.

8. That we shall not only hurt the *French* Nation in general (our most dangerous Rivals) by depriving them of their Fishery, but must largely abridge the Revenue of *France*, by lessening the Consumption of *French* Salt, the Profit of which is solely in the Crown, and more than Half of which, that was made in the Kingdom, was employ'd in this Fishery. At the same Time the Revenue from our own Salt Trade, which stands engag'd for a considerable Part of the National Debt, may be made to increase in Proportion as that of *France* is lessened.

9. That the Advantages to arise from this Fishery, are not merely the Profits of the Fish, or the Salt to cure it; but the vast Consumption of *British* Commodities, of most Kinds, that must be occasioned by this Trade, and the Superiority it must inevitably preserve us at Sea, by being an eternal Nursery of perhaps 30, 40, or 50,000 Seamen; since nobody can tell what Numbers might be employed, while we had this Trade solely in our Possession.

10. That the *British* Empire in *America* can be no otherwise compleated, nor our Trade to *New England*, *New York*, the *Jersies*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *Carolina*, and *Georgia* be secured, than by keeping Possession of *Cape Breton*.

11. That the Strength of this Place when attacked by the *New-England* Men, the long Siege it held out, and the Danger there was of a Mis-
carriage,

carriage, if every Circumstance had not fallen right on our Side, and every Measure on the Side of the *French* been defeated; if all Supplies to carry it on had not arrived, and all those to the Enemies been intercepted; these, I say, sufficiently demonstrate, that this Place may be made impregnable by us, if we do but keep there a good Garrison, well supplied, and a few Men of War always in or about the Harbour.

12. That by the Possession of this Place we may render the *French* Settlement in *Canada* of no Value, and must in time make it die away, tho' we should not succeed against it in open military Attempts; and that, by being Masters of *Canada* we shall monopolize the whole Fur Trade of *North-America*, which is, perhaps, next to the Fishery the most valuable in that Part of the World.

13. That all these Things observed, no Consideration whatsoever, either for ourselves or for our Allies; no Cession in *Europe* or any other Part of *America*; no advantageous Stipulations in a divided Trade (which we never yet found binding, longer than Interest or Necessity held the Tie); not the Terror of a Rebellion in *Scotland*, fomented and supported in that View, by *French* and *Spanish* Money; nothing, in a Word, that *France*, *Spain*, or any of their Friends, can give, promise, or engage for, should prevail upon us to give up, at a general Peace, either wholly or in Part, the important, invaluable Island of CAPE BRETON.

F I N I S.